



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

HANDBOOK
ON
LATIN WRITING

PURELL AND PARKER

J. N. HEATH & Co.

Ex. T 918.84.710

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY



FROM THE ESTATE OF
EDWIN HALE ABBOT

Class of 1855

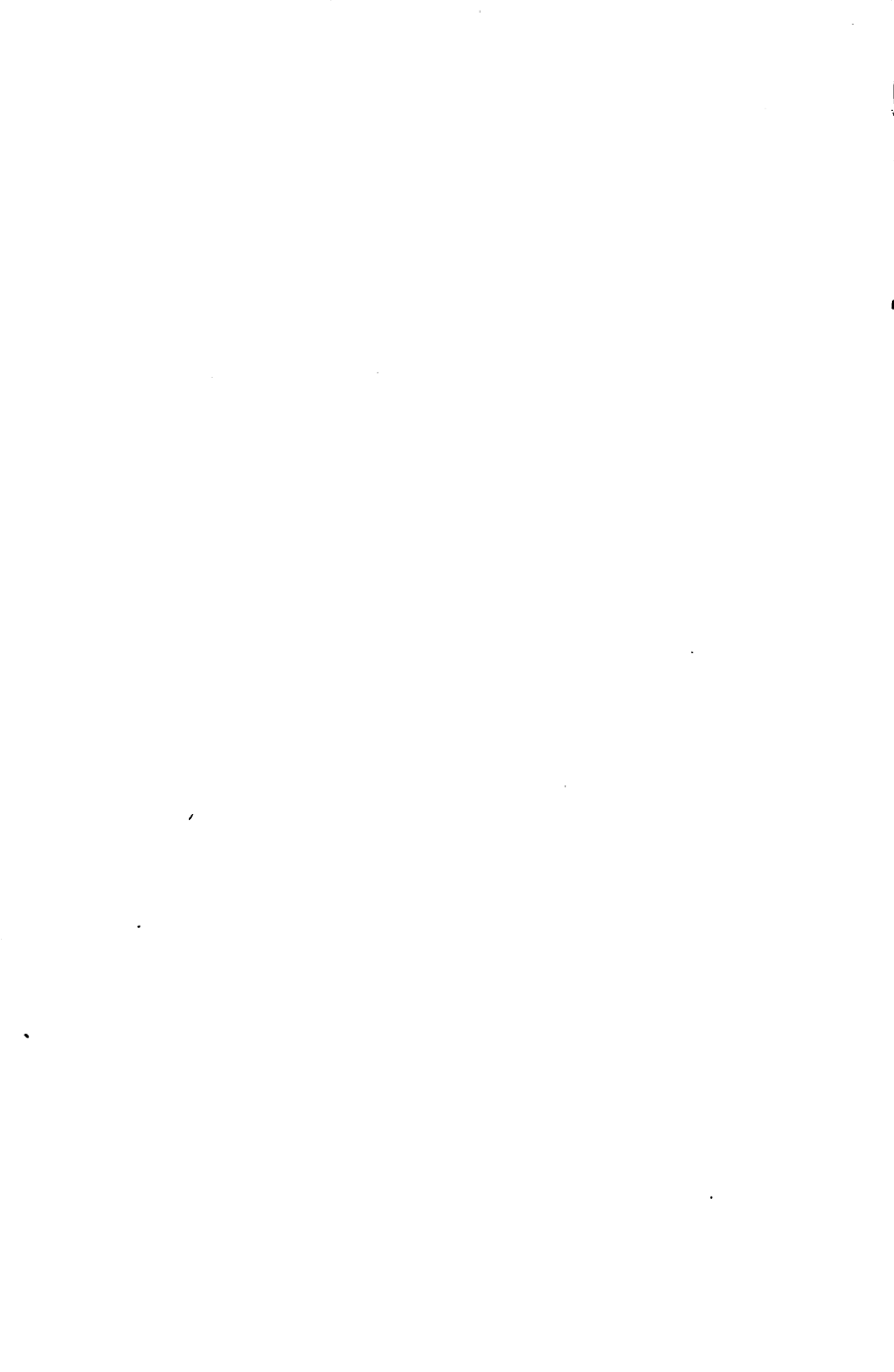
OF CAMBRIDGE



3 2044 097 057 947

41

1



HANDBOOK
OF
LATIN WRITING.

BY
HENRY PREBLE AND CHARLES P. PARKER,
TUTORS OF GREEK AND LATIN IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY GINN, HEATH, & CO.
1884.

EdueT 918,84.710
✓

**HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE ESTATE OF
EDWIN HALE ABBOT
DECEMBER 28, 1931**

**Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1884, by
HENRY PREBLE AND CHARLES P. PARKER,
In the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.**

J. S. CUSHING & Co., PRINTERS, 115 HIGH STREET, BOSTON.

PREFACE.

IN preparing this handbook it has not been our object to write an exhaustive work upon Latin composition, but merely to make the labor of both pupil and teacher easier, by putting into compact form various points which we have found it necessary constantly to reiterate to our pupils. A knowledge of forms and of syntax, and some practice in turning easy narrative prose into Latin, has been presupposed.

Feeling that ill success in Latin writing is largely due to the habit of translating the words rather than the thought, we have aimed in the Introductory Remarks and the Suggestions at fastening attention upon the thought, and have tried to show the learner how to express in Latin form the ideas which he has grasped from the English words. We have endeavored to make our suggestions as concise as possible, and have purposely used examples rather sparingly, in the hope of encouraging close attention on the part of pupils.

We have tried to choose exercises which seemed to us to be of more general application, and less like Chinese puzzles than those commonly used, many of which, even when satisfactorily worked out, do not, in a degree at all proportionate to the labor involved, increase the pupil's power to deal with the next exercise. We have graded the

work in a general way, but have not considered it necessary to do so very minutely.

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness on various points to the excellent works of J. E. Nixon, A. W. Potts, G. L. Bennett, and Allen & Greenough.

We would further express our sincerest thanks to Professors G. M. Lane, F. D. Allen, J. B. Greenough, and C. L. Smith of Harvard University, for their kindness in looking over proof, and for many valuable suggestions.

CAMBRIDGE, June 8, 1884.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

IN translating from English into Latin, the first thing to do is to find out exactly what the English means. The next thing is to put the thought (not the words) thus grasped into Latin form.

There is one fundamental difference between the ways of expressing thought in English and Latin. Roughly speaking, in English each of the main ideas which contribute to the thought as a whole, is put into a sentence by itself. These sentences are sometimes loosely joined together by words like "or," "but," "and"; sometimes succeed each other without any connective. In Latin, on the other hand, some one idea is seized as a central point and expressed in the main sentence, while all the other ideas are grouped about it in more or less subordinate relations. The most common ways of expressing these subordinate relations are the Ablative Absolute, the Participles of Deponent Verbs, the Secondary Tenses of the Subjunctive with *cum*, the Perfect Indicative with *ubi* or *postquam*, and the Present Indicative with *dum*. The differences in these constructions are too subtle to be profitably discussed here. Practically the student may be recommended to choose, in any given case, the construction which makes the sentence smoothest, not forgetting that variety is an excellent thing.

Another important difference between English and Latin ways of expressing thought is in the order of the words. In an ordinary English sentence the first place is occupied by the subject with its modifiers arranged about it, partly before and partly after, in the way which most conduces to clearness; the verb comes next, followed by the object or other words necessary to complete the sentence. Certain words may be made emphatic by their position in the sentence, but the lack of inflectional endings allows this only to a very limited extent. In Latin, on the contrary, emphasis is the thing which plays the most important part in determining the position of the words. To illustrate, in the sentence, "The boy sailed with me in the harbor yesterday," various shades of meaning are given according as the emphasis is put upon one word or another, by stress of voice, if the sentence is spoken, by italics or some similar device, if written. These shades of meaning are most frequently expressed in Latin by putting the emphatic word first in the sentence, so that while *puer heri in portu mecum navigavit* means, the boy sailed with me in the harbor yesterday, *heri puer in portu mecum navigavit* would mean, we sailed YESTERDAY, rather than to-day or last week; *in portu heri puer mecum navigavit*, we sailed in the HARBOR rather than on the river or lake; *mecum heri puer in portu navigavit*, he sailed with ME, not you or any one else; *navigavit puer heri mecum in portu*, we SAILED rather than swam.

Now, in the normal sentence the subject is the emphatic word, and therefore stands first; then follow the words which modify it, the closest coming nearest; the verb with its modifiers immediately before it, the closest

being nearest, completes the period. In the middle of the sentence remain any words which do not distinctly modify either subject or verb, and which have little or no emphasis. Any departure from this normal order marks as emphatic some word other than the subject. The most emphatic place, as has been said, is the first; the next most emphatic place (for anything but the verb) is the last. Words which belong together may be made emphatic by separation, contrasted words by being brought together.

The following exercise may serve at once to illustrate these remarks, and to introduce some more special suggestions upon Latin idiom. First the general arrangement of the clauses and sentences is discussed, and then follows a more detailed consideration of the construction and order of the words.

EXERCISE.

When Octavianus was at Samos after the battle of Actium, he ordered the prisoners to be summoned for trial. Among others there was brought before him an old man, named Metellus, oppressed with age and infirmities, and so much disfigured by a long beard and ragged clothes, that his son, who happened to be one of the judges, could scarcely recognize him. When, however, he at length recollected the old man's features, he was so far from being ashamed to own his father, that he ran to embrace him, and wept over him bitterly. Then returning towards the tribunal, "Cæsar," says he, "my father has been your enemy, and I your officer; he deserves to be punished, and I to be rewarded. The favor I desire of you is, either to save him on my account, or to order me to be executed with him." The rest of the judges were melted by so affecting a scene. Octavianus himself relented, and granted Metellus his life and liberty.

Latin Version of the Same.

Ad Octavianum, cum Sami post pugnam Actiacam captivos in ius vocari iussisset, adductus est inter alios Metellus senex, aetate et debilitate confectus atque ita barba longa vestimentisque squalidis deformatus ut ipsius filius, qui forte inter iudices erat, vix eum agnovit. Qui tamen cum aliquando vultum senis recordatus esset, tantum aberat ut patris eum pueret ut ad illum amplectendum multis cum lacrimis adcurreret. Tum ad tribunal reversus, "Inimicus tuus," inquit, "Caesar, fuit pater, ego autem legatus, quare meriti sumus ego laudem, poenam ille. Hoc igitur tantum a te peto ut eum mea causa serves aut me cum illo interfici iubeas." Cuius facti admiratione non iudices solum graviter commoti sunt, sed ipse Octavianus exoratus seni vitam libertatemque concessit.

The first idea in this passage which a Roman would seize upon as a central point is, perhaps, the bringing of the prisoners before Octavian. The principal verb, therefore, of the first period is *adductus est*. The act of ordering the prisoners to be summoned, which took place before the bringing, may be thrown into a dependent clause with *cum* and the pluperfect subjunctive. The fact that Octavian was at Samos can be expressed simply by a noun in the locative case. The old man's disfigurement is expressed by participles agreeing with *senex*, while his son's failure to recognize him follows as a clause of result. The fact that the son was among the judges is thrown into a simple relative clause.

The next prominent idea, which must be made the centre of a new period, is that the son, though among the judges, was so far from being ashamed that he ran to embrace his father, and wept. This is expressed by *tantum aberat* with a double result clause, the two members of which describe the absence of shame and

the way in which the feeling was shown. The weeping is to the Roman mind not a third result, but an accompaniment of the running to embrace the old man, and may be put in the ablative with *cum*. Before, however, the son showed his feeling he had to recognize his father, and the recognition may be expressed by the pluperfect subjunctive with *cum*, while the whole period thus constituted is connected with the first by the relative pronoun *qui* and *tamen*.

Then the younger Metellus spoke, which becomes the main clause, and, for variety's sake, the prior action of returning to the tribunal is thrown into the perfect participle, *reversus*, of a deponent verb. In conversation the periodic construction is, of course, much less prominent than in other styles of expression, and the first part of Metellus' speech may be given in Latin just as it is given in English. Then comes the asking of the favor, which may be represented by the main verb, while the favor itself is expressed by *hoc* with subjunctive clauses in apposition.

There are then left two parallel main ideas, the softening of the judges, and the pardon given by Octavian, which are expressed by main verbs connected with each other by *non modo . . . sed*, and with the preceding sentence by the relative pronoun *cuius*. The relenting of Octavian might seem to be parallel with these, but a Roman would view it as coming before the pardon, and would express it by a perfect participle.

The arrangement of the clauses in the first period settled, the next thing to consider is the construction and arrangement of the individual words. It is not best here to put the subject first, partly because its

connection with the second period, and thus with the whole body of the piece, can be more distinctly marked by keeping it for the last part of the sentence, and partly because there are several ideas introductory to the story which most smoothly come in at the beginning. Of these, to the Roman mind, the commander before whom the prisoners were brought would perhaps first occur. The relation here expressed in English by "before" is expressed in Latin by *ad* with the accusative case. Then would come most naturally the place, followed by the time at which the events happened, and these ideas the Romans would connect with the first action, namely, the ordering. Therefore, next comes the conjunction *cum*; the place, being the name of a town, is expressed by the locative, and the time by *post* with the accusative; while the name of the battle is best put as an adjective, whose regular position is after its noun. The sentence then, thus far, reads: *Ad Octavianum cum Sami post pugnam Actiacam.*

"For trial" here modifies "summoned" so closely as almost to be a part of the same idea, and is combined with it in an idiomatic phrase,—*in ius vocare*,—while the object accusative *captivos* precedes the whole phrase; *vocare* is put in the infinitive, depending on the verb *iubeo*, to order, and the clause ends with the PLUPERFECT subjunctive of *iubeo*, because the ordering was finished before the action of the principal verb began. In the principal clause itself, besides the subject and verb, there is only the expression "among others," in Latin *inter alios*, which should stand as near Metellus as possible, and therefore follow the verb *adductus est*. Then comes the main subject, *Metellus*, followed by its other modifiers, of which the closest is "an old man," *senex*.

The next modifier, "oppressed," which in this sense is in Latin *confectus*, is itself modified by the words "with age and infirmities," *aetate et debilitate*, which are expressed by the ablative of means and in the natural order placed before the participle. The next modifier of the subject is "disfigured," *deformatus*, which also has modifiers of its own. Of these the expression "so much," *ita*, modifies it least closely, and is therefore placed first, allowing the closer modifiers to stand nearer the participle. The phrases, "by a long beard" and "ragged clothes," are put in the ablative, showing how the old man was disfigured, while the adjectives *longa* and *squalidis*, not being emphatic, come after their nouns, *barba* and *vestimentis*, and these two nouns expressing practically one thought are connected by *que*, which is attached, of course, to the first word of the second expression. This whole modifier is to be connected with the previous modifier of the subject; and, since it is somewhat more emphatic, the connective should be *atque*. *Deformatus* is further modified by the result clause "that his son, etc.," in which *ut* stands first and connects it with the preceding. The subject of this clause is "the son," *filius*, modified by "his own" and "who happened to be one of the judges,"—of which the first is so emphatic that it may be put before the noun. The word for "his own," standing in a subordinate sentence and referring to the subject of the principal sentence, is *ipse*, here to be put in the genitive.

"Who happened to be one of" is expressed in Latin by the idiomatic phrase "who was by chance among," which, arranged on the principles already explained, reads *qui forte inter iudices erat*. There is then left only the verb of the result clause, "recognized," *agnosco*,

with its modifiers "him" and "scarcely." The time of this verb is that which in Greek is expressed by the aorist, and in Latin result clauses idiomatically by the perfect, even after a historical tense, so that the first period is finished as follows: *Ad Octavianum . . . vix eum agnoverit.*

In the first sentence of the next period the subject is put first, and might be a demonstrative pronoun referring to *filius*; but the relative *qui*, equivalent to *et is* or *et ille*, is, according to a Latin idiom, more neatly used, serving to connect this period with the preceding.

Next comes the word for "however," *tamen*, and then the temporal clause beginning with *cum*. On the general principle of arranging a verb's modifiers (above explained), the word for "at length," *aliquando*, comes next, then the object, "old man's features," *vultum senis*, while the clause ends with the verb for "recollecting," *recordor*, in the pluperfect subjunctive for the same reason as in the previous period. "He was so far from being ashamed" is expressed in Latin by the idiom *tantum aberat ut eum puderet*, into which is to be inserted the verb's remote object, "his father," *patris*. Then comes the second result clause, in which the two modifiers, "to embrace him," *ad illum amplexendum*, and "wept bitterly," *multis cum lacrumis*, will be arranged differently by different persons according as they think one or the other modifies the verb more closely, and as either arrangement seems to them better to secure a rhythmical sentence. "Over him" is padding in English, and to be omitted in Latin.

The subjunctive of result, *adcurreret*, closes the period, which reads *Qui tamen . . . adcurreret*, and in like manner the exercise may be continued to the end.

PART II.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

I. Do not use an English-Latin Dictionary unless absolutely forced to do so. Sometimes, for instance, it is the quickest way to find the name of an uncommon animal or vegetable; but Latin is a language of comparatively poor vocabulary, and the individual words coincide much less with individual English words than do those of almost any other tongue. Therefore, pre-eminently, in translating from English into Latin, ideas and not words are to be considered; though, of course, in the few cases where the exact construction can be retained, the opportunity may be gratefully seized. This want of coincidence between the words of the two languages renders it very difficult, if not impossible, to make a good English-Latin Dictionary. It is better always to change the form into one more familiar to you, than to run to a dictionary in order to keep the English form. In fact, dictionaries of all kinds should be used as little as possible, for they have a tendency to call away the mind from the spirit of the Latin and to direct the attention unduly to phrases. The best possible way to get a vocabulary in Latin is to read pieces of classical prose WITHOUT TRANSLATING, EVEN IN THE MIND, and carefully to note the forms and varieties of ideas expressed by the LATIN words. Accustom yourself as soon and as rapidly as possible to thinking in Latin.

II. A good test whether your Latin is in the Roman spirit is to make yourself as impersonal as possible, and without a thought of the English, to see whether you can thoroughly understand the Latin, and whether anything in it would strike you as a mild monstrosity if you met it in another writer.

III. The first requisite of Latin style (as of any other) is to say what you mean clearly.

IV. A love of distinctness and a directness of statement is one of the most marked characteristics of Latin style.

V. Use as subjects persons rather than things or clauses; and, on the same principle, prefer the active to the passive.

VI. Keep the subject in successive co-ordinate clauses as much as possible the same.

VII. Keep the same substantive so far as possible in the same case throughout a period.

VIII. Translate the **TIME** and not the **TENSE** of English participles and verb-forms in general. For instance, if the present participle really denotes past time, though loosely used in English, it must be translated by a past time expression. So, too, the English present used for the future is future in Latin; the English aorist imperfect is perfect, and so on.

IX. In determining the tense of your subordinate verbs and participles, be careful to make your standard of time, not the moment at which you are writing, nor the hour or day at which the events of the general narrative took or will take place, but the time denoted by **THE VERB ON WHICH THE SUBORDINATE VERB OR PARTICIPLE DEPENDS.**

X. Do not be afraid to make verbs depending on primary tenses, primary, merely because in English there is so little occasion for dependent primary tenses.

CHOICE OF WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS.

I. Do not aim at the extraordinary in words or constructions, but between two expressions, one of which is common, the other used once by Cicero or Cæsar, always chose the common one.

II. While it is a hindrance to style to label particular Latin words with the meanings of particular English words, it is on the contrary a great help to fix in the mind, and have ready to order, various favorite Latin expressions, or single words and turns of thought, such as *constat*, the perfect participle of deponent verbs, etc.

III. Remember that Latin has a fancy for verbal constructions rather than nouns, and that abstract nouns, except in philosophical writings, are especially distasteful to it. For instance, "the subject of discussion" is in Latin *id de quo agitur*, etc.

IV. Ideas which in English are represented by nouns are frequently given by adverb constructions in Latin, as good deeds = *bene facta*, etc.

V. Do not be deceived by the empty appearance of likeness between certain Latin words and the English words derived from them. The English words were for the most part formed at a time when Latin had fallen into decay, and the words from which they were derived had in classical times either different meanings or no existence at all.

VI. In the use of common words be especially on your guard against the ambiguities to which you are exposed, because their familiarity prevents your noticing that their meanings do not fully coincide with the meanings of the English words in question. An example is *considero*, which is used in the sense of "observe," "reflect upon," etc., but not in the sense of "estimate" or "judge to be so and so."

VII. Be especially careful to draw the reins tightly over synonyms and technical words used in combinations; although, if they be used separately, they need not be so sharply distinguished; for example, when *pueritia* and *adulescentia* are used together, they mark two definite periods of life, although either used separately may roughly designate either age.

VIII. English "as" must be translated variously, according to the relation it expresses. For it may introduce a reason, an appositive, a relative clause, or one of almost any kind.

IX. A special instance of confusion, caused by translating words instead of ideas, is where Latin distinguishes shades of meaning unknown to English; as, *hostis*, "public," *inimicus*, "private," enemy.

X. A still more disastrous instance is where single English words express shades of meaning which in Latin are implied in the context, in case no ambiguity can arise. For instance, "society," "association," "partnership," "alliance" give shades of meaning which in Latin the one word *societas* will ordinarily express. If, however, there is real danger of ambiguity, the distinct meaning must be brought out by amplification; as, *societas et foedus* for "alliance," etc.

XI. In dealing with metaphors, conventional phrases, etc., be *particularly careful* to translate the thought, not the word, and avoid needless synonyms and repetitions.

XII. Be especially careful not to mix metaphors through neglect of the etymological meaning of words like *redundare*.

XIII. In all languages, besides the bare form of the statement of thought, some expression or color is put into the words, and differently in different languages. In English it is apt to be spread about among different words, adjectives being especially favored, while in Latin it is concentrated upon one particular point, most frequently, perhaps, the verb.

XIV. A brilliant instance of the Roman fondness for the simple is the use of *res*, *ratio*, etc., with such manifold shades of meaning. *Res* is "a blank cheque, so to say, to be filled up from the context to the requisite amount of meaning."

XV. So, among verbs, *esse* is frequently used where we use a more expressive word: for instance, "War was going on between the Sabines and Romans"; in Latin, *Inter Sabinos Romanosque bellum erat*.

XVI. Avoid double terms to express single ideas, as is done in English by "a feeling of shame," "a sense of duty," etc. In Latin, the single words, *pudor*, *officium*, are generally sufficient.

XVII. Where in English one part of a compound idea is made to depend upon the other, especially as an adjective or genitive, the Romans by a different habit of thought often combined two nouns on an even footing. The Latin construction is called Hendiadys, and an example is *religio metusque* for "superstitious fear."

SPECIAL POINTS OF ORDER.

I. Let that clause in the sentence come first which contains the first action; for instance, put the purpose before its fulfilment, the cause before its effect.

II. The relative clause is apt to come before the so-called antecedent clause, and to contain the antecedent itself, especially when this is in apposition with the main clause or some word in it.

III. Of two words forming one combined idea the emphatic one precedes. Therefore, adjectives and appositives generally come after their substantives, while the place of the genitive varies.

IV. If more than two words are thus connected, put the closest connected farthest apart, and the others between them.

V. Adverbs and negatives regularly come before the words which they modify, but words like *quidem* come immediately after the word they emphasize. *Ne . . . quidem* takes the emphatic word or words between its parts.

VI. Remember that with direct quotations *inquit* comes after two or three words. For instance, *At Caesar; "Minime vero," inquit, "hoc probo."*

CONNECTIVES.

I. The simple co-ordinate connective is *et*. When two words or expressions are to be more closely connected, *que* is used, and is attached to the second word or to the first word of the second expression connected. *Atque* or *ac*, the latter used only before consonants, throws especial emphasis upon the second thing.

II. In a series of perfectly co-ordinate words or phrases, put the connective between each two, or omit it altogether. Write accordingly, *Marcus et Publius et Quintus*, or *Marcus, Publius, Quintus*. The latter case may be varied by attaching *que* to the last member of the series, as *urbs magna, valida divesque*.

III. Some co-ordinate clauses which in English usually have a connective, in Latin regularly omit the connective, its place being supplied by the arrangement of the words; as, "the wise man meets death calmly, but the fool shudders at it," *aequo animo mortem appetit sapiens; insipiens eam reformidat*. This is called Asyndeton.

IV. Distinguish between *sed*, the common word for opposition, English "but"; *autem*, which is a milder form of transition; and *at*, the abrupt oppositive, which often introduces the supposed objection of an opponent.

V. "Or," in simple phrases or statements, is *aut* or *vel*; in double questions is *an*; in conditional clauses is *sive* or *seu*. Distinguish carefully between *aut* and *vel*. *Aut* is used where the opposition is between the things themselves; *vel* where there is a choice dependent upon the person concerned. (Cf. its derivation from *volo*, "I wish.")

VI. Many sentences whose connection in English is left to the imagination have really various relations of subordination to each other, which are expressed in Latin by *deinde*, *autem*, *quidem*, *vero*, *igitur*, etc.

VII. Remember that *quidem*, *autem*, *vero*, *enim*, *igitur*, and generally *tamen*, do not stand first in the sentence.

VIII. "And not," as well as "or not," in clauses of purpose or hortatory clauses, is *neve*.

IX. The Romans had a general tendency to combine the negative in a sentence with the connective, and so wrote *nec, nec umquam*, etc., rather than *et non, et numquam*, etc.

X. The relative is often used first in a sentence to connect it with the previous sentence, where English uses a personal or demonstrative pronoun with a conjunction.

PRONOUNS.

I. *Hic* is used to refer backward, *ille* forward, while English uses "this" to refer forward. For instance, to introduce a quotation from Virgil the Romans would say *illud Vergili*.

II. *Iste* refers to the second person, or to the subject of discussion in dialogues, *hic* to the first person, and *ille* to the third.

III. *Idem* is often used where English uses phrases like "all the same," "at once," "again," and *ipse* for "very," "the fact of," etc.

IV. Observe that *ipse* almost always agrees with the subject, even when the emphasis seems to be on the object. Thus, "he kills himself," *ipse se interficit*.

V. Remember that *se* and *suus* as a rule refer to the grammatical subject of the clause in which they stand; but if the real subject of thought is different from the grammatical subject, they regularly refer to it, in case no ambiguity can arise. If they stand in a dependent sentence, whose subject is insignificant compared with the subject of the principal sentence, they refer to the latter. Otherwise the word for "self," "own," referring in a subordinate sentence to the subject of the principal sentence, is *ipse*. In two closely connected co-ordinate

sentences *ipse* is similarly used; as, "Cæsar was absent, but his own lieutenant led the line," *Caesar aberat sed ipsius legatus aciem duxit*.

VI. The Latin frequently uses the personal pronoun of the first person in the plural *nos* for the singular *ego*, but never the second plural *vos* for the singular *tu*, as "you" is used in English instead of "thou."

VII. Of the double forms of the genitive plural of the personal pronouns the form in *um* is partitive, the form in *i* used for other relations. Thus, *quis vestrum meminit nostri*.

VIII. Do not confuse *alter*, "the other," used where two persons or things are spoken of, *alius*, "another," where more than two are spoken of, and *ceteri* or *reliqui*, "all others," "the rest." *Alterius* is, however, generally used for the genitive of *alius*.

IX. So do not confuse *uterque*, "each," of two, with *quisque*, "each," "every," of more than two. *Omnis* is sometimes used in the singular nearly in the sense of *quisque*, but is more indefinite.

X. The distinction just mentioned in regard to the number referred to holds between the interrogatives *uter* and *quis*.

XI. Of the indefinite pronouns, *quidam* is most definite, *nonnullus*, *nonnemo*, *nonnihil* next, then *quispiam*, and *aliquis* the weakest. Remember that the form *quis* is used for *aliquis*, after *si*, *nisi*, *ne*, *num*. *Quivis* and *quilibet* are universals, and the second part of these compounds may be affected by indirect discourse. Instead of *non quisquam*, *non ullus*, *non quidquam*, *non uter*, use respectively *nemo*, *nullus*, *nihil*, *neuter*. Compare among verbs *nego* for *dico* . . . *non*.

XII. *Nemo* and *quisquam* are substantive pronouns; *nullus* and *ullus* the corresponding adjective pronouns; but instead of the genitives of *nemo* and *quisquam*, *nullius* and *ullius* are used. *Quisquam* and *ullus* are used in negative sentences, or sentences implying a negative, where in positive sentences *aliquis*, *quispiam*, or *nonnullus* is used.

XIII. The words of indefinite number run from few to many in about the following order: *perpauci*, *pauci*, *aliquot*, *nonnulli*, *plures*, *multi*, *plurimi*, *plerique*.

THE RELATIVE.

I. The Latin relative stands at the beginning of its clause, with the antecedent as near it as possible, before or after.

II. Do not forget the use of the relative used to connect its sentence with the preceding, where English uses a personal or demonstrative pronoun with a conjunction.

III. The relative cannot be omitted in Latin, as it can in English, in phrases like "the book you are reading."

IV. Preposition and adverb phrases, like "the island near by," and most English participles used substantively, are expressed in Latin by relative clauses. (See, however, III., under Participles.)

V. Two relative clauses referring to the same antecedent sometimes have, as in English, the relative repeated, with or without a conjunction; sometimes take a demonstrative pronoun instead of the second relative; as, "Brutus whom Cæsar had pardoned and afterwards treated as a son," *Brutus cui Cæsar ignoverat et eum postea pro filio habuerat*.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

I. In Latin the great difference between the indicative and subjunctive is that the indicative deals with FACTS,—asserts, denies, or questions FACTS; the subjunctive deals with THOUGHTS or IDEAS, representing sometimes as an idea what may exist also as a fact. This distinction kept constantly in mind will clear away most of the fog that hovers about the practical use of the subjunctive.

II. “Conjunctions have no inborn predilection for indicative or subjunctive”; most of them can be used with either mood, and the choice must be regulated by the principles of the foregoing section. An exception seems to occur in the classical use of *quāquam* and *quamvis* for “although,” of which the former takes the indicative, the latter the subjunctive. *Quamvis*, in indicative sentences, modifies some particular adjective or adverb, and has the force of the English “however,” used of degree. Compare also *cum* below.

III. With conjunctions like *dum*, *donec*, *antequam*, *priusquam*, in determining whether to use the indicative or subjunctive, keep your mind steadfastly upon the consideration whether your statement is to be put as a fact or as a notion. *Cum*, for practical purposes, always takes the Subjunctive when used with secondary tenses.

IV. The subjunctive cannot do double duty in cases where ambiguity would arise therefrom. In such cases, most of which are occasioned by the sequence of tenses in Indirect Discourse, some periphrasis must be employed. For instance, the two sentences, *Si Romae fuit, Caesarem vidit* and *Si Romae fuisset Caesarem vidisset*,

would both after *dixit* be [*Dixit*] *si Romae fuisset se Caesarem vidisse*. To avoid this ambiguity the Romans wrote for the contrary-to-fact condition *Dixit si Romae fuisset se Caesarem visurum fuisse*. So in a sentence like "He did not doubt that if Cæsar had been there, he would have taken the town," *non dubitavit quin Caesar si adfuisset oppidum capturus fuerit* must be written, where the perfect is by a common idiom preferred in the result clause to the pluperfect. *Oppidum cepisset* would mean "(did not doubt) that he had taken the town."

INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

I. Words like "saying," "asking," "urging," etc., which in English often introduce the indirect discourse, are omitted in Latin.

II. Stories, however, which in English begin abruptly, in Latin are introduced by some phrase like *ferunt, accidit, adde quod*.

III. Remember that direct questions quoted differ from indirect questions, and, being principal verbs, are put in the infinitive; as, [he said] "what could they do?" *quid facere?*

IV. Do not be afraid of questions originally in the subjunctive, because when quoted they do not change as much as you expect. They naturally cannot change their mood, but simply change their tense, if necessary, according to the regular rule for the sequence of tenses. For instance, the rhetorical question *Quid faciam* becomes *Quid facerem* if the speaker is telling his own experience, *Quid faceret* if speaking of another's.

PARTICIPLES.

I. Avoid the present participle in Latin until you can manage it so skilfully as not to be thrown. Use generally instead of it clauses with *dum*, *cum*, and the like, or the infinitive.

II. Guard especially against using the perfect passive participle for the English perfect active participle, *i.e.*, do not translate “having come to Rome” by *Romam ad-ventus*. Latin verbs, except deponents, having no perfect active participle, must supply the deficiency by temporal clauses or ablatives absolute. In using this ablative absolute be particularly careful about the voice.

III. With a few exceptions like *prudens*, *sapiens*, *amans*, *potens*, *tutus*, *doctus*, *expeditus*, Latin participles are not used as adjectives, and the idea expressed by such participles in English must be given in Latin by various other constructions according to circumstances.

IV. The perfect participle of deponent verbs is so favorite a form of expression that in many verbs it even takes the place of the present participle; regularly so, *ratus*, *solitus*, *veritus*.

CERTAIN SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS.

I. Ablative Absolute.—Regard closely the meaning of the word “absolute” in the construction called ablative absolute, and do not use it of that which occurs in the sentence itself as subject or object or in any connected construction.

II. Adjective Connections.—If you use two adjectives with one noun, be sure to connect them by a conjunction.

III. Agent and Means.—Distinguish carefully between the voluntary agent (ablative with *ab*, *a*), the involuntary agent, person treated as means (accusative with *per*), and the means (ablative alone).

IV. Amplius, Ad, etc.—*Amplius*, *plus*, *minus*, are treated as adverbs, merely modifying the numeral adjective; *ad* is sometimes so treated, sometimes as a preposition governing the numeral.

V. Case Change in Objects.—Remember that with two or more verbs taking objects in different cases, pronouns must be used to refer to all the objects except the first; as, "Cæsar pardoned Brutus and sent him to Sicily," *Caesar Bruto ignovit atque eum in Siciliam misit*.

VI. Commands, etc.—Commands in the second person are expressed by the imperative; prohibitions to a particular person by *noli* with the infinitive, by *cave* with a subjunctive, or by *ne* with the perfect subjunctive.

VII. Comparison Clauses with Quam.—Clauses of comparison after *quam* may take the same construction that went before, or may be put in the subjunctive, with or without *ut*. The same thing is true of clauses with *nisi*.

VIII. Comparatives without Quam.—Remember that comparatives are used without *quam* only when the first of the things compared is in the nominative or accusative.

IX. Cum Enclitic.—Do not forget that with personal and relative pronouns the preposition *cum* is attached enclitically; as, *secum*, *quocum*, etc.

X. Dates.—Officially the year was expressed in Latin by naming the consuls. For other purposes the date

from the founding of the city given in ordinal numbers might be used, the Romans not having the gift of prophesy necessary to say B.C.

XI. Dative Retained.— Let nothing persuade you to change an object in the dative into the subject of a passive verb. Such verbs can only be used impersonally in the passive, and retain the dative; as, “Cicero was persuaded,” *Ciceroni persuasum est*.

XII. Etiam and Quoque.— Of the two words for “also,” “even,” *etiam* comes before, *quoque* after, the word it emphasizes.

XIII. Exclamatory Infinitive.— The infinitive may be used to express surprise, sometimes alone, but perhaps oftener with the interrogative enclitic *ne*; as, “to think that Brutus should have done so,” *Brutumne ita fecisse*.

XIV. Gerundive of Utor, etc.— Remember that the gerundive construction, not the gerund, is regularly used in verbs which govern abnormal cases, but did once take the accusative, like *utor*, *fruor*, *medeo*; as, *ad vitam fruendam*.

XV. Indefinite Article (English).— The indefinite article, if unemphatic, is not expressed in Latin; if emphatic, is represented by *quidam*, *aliquis*, or *is*, according to the strength of emphasis.

XVI. Interest and Refert.— With *interest* and *refert*, the person or thing interested is put in the genitive, except that, instead of personal pronouns, the ablative singular feminine of the corresponding possessive is used; as, *Ciceronis interest*, but *tua interest*; the thing that causes the interest is expressed by a nominative, or a clause used as subject of the verb; the degree or amount of interest is shown by an adverb or an ad-

verbial accusative. This last may also be expressed by a genitive of price when no awkwardness can arise from a combination of genitives.

XVII. Letter Addresses.—In letter-writing the Romans combined the address at the beginning and the signature into the formula (X) *suo* (Y) S. D. = *salutem dicit*, and placed this expression at the head of the epistle. The date is either omitted, or placed at the end, or casually flung into the course of the letter itself.

XVIII. Locative Apposition.—A noun in apposition with a locative is put in the ablative, and usually takes a preposition; as, "Cicero was born at Arpinum, a small town in Latium," *Cicero Arpini parvo in oppido Lati natus est*. So, too, a common noun in apposition with an accusative of the limit of motion must have a preposition.

XIX. "Might," "Could," etc.—Distinguish between "might," "could," etc., used as auxiliaries in potential clauses, and the same words used as the imperfects of "may," "can," etc. The first sense is expressed in Latin by the mood, the last sense by *possum* and certain impersonals like *licet*, etc. So, also, do not confuse "would," when a conditional, with "would" used as the historical tense of the future "will." Notice, too, that while the mutilated state of English verbs requires the use of phrases like "might have done," the Latin puts more logically the infinitive in the present, and the main verb in the past.

XX. Mille and Milia.—*Mille* is singular and indeclinable, and generally used as an adjective; *milia* is a plural substantive followed by the genitive, and is declinable.

XXI. Ne or Non? — The negative used with final, imperative, and optative clauses, and with the protases of conditions is *ne*; with all other clauses, *non*.

XXII. Nescio quis. — Observe that *nescio quis* is practically an indefinite pronoun, and has no effect upon the mood of the following verb.

XXIII. Numerals (Compound). — Compound numerals are used in the same way in Latin as in English. When the greater number precedes, the connective is omitted, except in numbers above one hundred, where it may be used or omitted as one pleases. When the smaller number precedes, the connective is inserted — *viginti quinque* or *quinque et viginti*.

XXIV. Numerals (Distributive). — Distributive numerals ordinarily mean so many apiece, but when they are used with numeral adverbs, *ter deni*, *vicies centena*, or with plurals which either have no singular or have a different meaning in the singular, they have the meaning of common numerals; as, *bina castra*, “two camps.”

XXV. Nuntio, Pono, etc. — Observe that, contrary to what one might expect, *nuntio* takes the accusative of motion towards; as, “this was reported at Rome,” *hoc Romam nuntiatum est*, not the ablative of place where, while *pono*, *loco*, *statuo*, take the ablative, rather than the accusative, with *in*.

XXVI. Plural for Singular. — In phrases like “it delights the eye,” “the immortality of the soul,” “man,” used for “mankind,” the Latin requires the plural, as for the second example *animorum immortalitas*.

XXVII. Possessive Genitive, or Dative? — When, with *esse*, the possessor is put in the genitive, he is empha-

sized; when the dative is used, the emphasis is thrown upon the fact of possession.

XXVIII. Predicate Agreement. — Remember that a predicate word belonging to the omitted subject of an infinitive agrees with the subject of the verb on which the infinitive depends; as, "Epicurus is thought by many to have been a great philosopher," *A multis Epicurus magnus philosophus esse creditur*. By a similar idiom, predicate words after *esse*, depending upon impersonals like *licet*, are made to agree with the dative, expressed or understood, which is governed by the impersonal; as, "those who have a town to flee to may be cowards," *qui oppidum habent quo fugiant licet esse ignavis*.

XXIX. Preposition Phrases. — A conspicuous case of the necessity of considering the thought, rather than the words, is furnished by English preposition phrases. For instance, "by the town" is *praeter oppidum*; "by stratagem," is simply *dolo*; "by tens," is *deni*; "by his lieutenant," is *per legatum*, or *a legato*.

XXX. Preposition Repeated. — The preposition must be repeated with several nouns, unless they form one idea; and, conversely, two prepositions cannot often be used with one noun.

XXXI. Present Passive (English). — The real English present passive is translated by the Latin present passive because it represents an action as going on. The apparently similar form in which the participle really has an adjective force; for instance, "The city is fortified" represents a completed action, and it must be translated by the perfect passive in Latin.

XXXII. Price. — Definite price is expressed by the

ablative; indefinite price (great or small price, etc.), by the genitive.

XXXIII. Proper Names, etc.— Avoid the repetition of proper names as much as possible, and of general expressions representing persons, like “the good consul,” “the adventurer,” etc. Use pronouns instead, and if your pronouns do not seem to refer easily and naturally, be sure that the thought is not arranged in Roman fashion, and try it again.

XXXIV. Purpose.— The most general way of expressing purpose is by *ut* or *ne* with the subjunctive; but, if the purpose is connected with some particular word, the relative is to be used. This is also true of result except that *ut non* is used instead of *ne*. The gerund and gerundive of purpose are used in short expressions, where their literal translations would be, if not approved, yet intelligible in English. With verbs of motion, the supine in *um* is the favorite construction, and with comparatives, *quo* is used rather than *ut*.

XXXV. Quin and Quominus.— Remember that *quominus* is usually a conjunction of purpose, *quin*, one of result, and that both are used after negative sentences, or sentences implying a negative.

XXXVI. Recordor, etc.— Have your eyes open for certain prominent exceptions to well-known rules; for instance, *recordor* and *miseror* with the accusative where you had expected the genitive, *iubeo* and *veto* with the infinitive, where you had expected the subjunctive, *iuvo* with the accusative where you had expected the dative.

XXXVII. Substantive Clauses.— Substantive clauses, or clauses equivalent to nouns, have four forms, accord-

ing to the shape in which the thought they represent would most naturally occur to the mind in independent form. If the thought would appear as a statement, the substantive clause is practically indirect discourse, and is expressed by the accusative and infinitive; if, as a question, the subjunctive of indirect question is used; if, as a command or result, the subjunctive with *ut* must be employed; if, as a simple fact, *quod* with the indicative is the special form of substantive clause to be preferred.

XXXVIII. Substantive Connections.—Remember that the relation between two substantives is regularly expressed by putting one of them in the genitive, depending upon the other, and do not try to express this relation by prepositions, thus making them a sort of conjunction. For instance, “a town in Greece” is *oppidum Graeciae*, not *in Graecia*.

XXXIX. Tense Affinities.—Though, as has been said, it is rarely true of moods, it is true of tenses that certain words have an affinity for certain tenses; namely, *dum* for the present, *ubi* and *postquam* for the perfect; though, if it is important to mark a particular time, the general preference must be cheerfully resigned.

XL. “That of,” “The One,” etc.—In comparisons where English uses phrases like “the one,” “that of,” Latin simply omits all such phrases. “The courage of Scipio was greater than that of Metellus,” is *Scipionis virtus maior erat quam Metelli*.

XLI. Time of Day and Night.—The time of day was counted by twelve hours, beginning with sunrise; the time of night by four watches, beginning with sunset.

XLII. "Too," in Comparisons.—Steer carefully in the neighborhood of expressions of comparison where English uses "too," Latin *quam pro, quam ut, quam qui*. "It was too good to be true," is *melius erat quam quod verum esset*.

XLIII. Verbs Compounded with Ab, De, Ex, etc.—Verbs compounded with *ab, de, ex, pro*, and sometimes *sub*, take the dative of the person (sometimes of the thing) from whom a thing is taken, the action being looked at as done to an object, though indirectly, and not as an instance of separation.

XLIV. Verbs Compounded with Ad, Ante, Com-, etc.—Be watchful over verbs compounded with *ad, ante, com-, in, inter, ob, post, prae, sub, super*. When they have a really transitive force, and so require a direct object, they take it in the accusative. Some of them take the accusative in one sense, the dative in another; as, *confirmo, consulo, prospicio*.

XLV. "Yes" and "No."—In answers to direct questions, instead of searching for a word for "yes" or "no," remember that the Roman habit was to repeat the emphatic word of the question, with or without *non*. For instance, "Have you seen him? Yes," *Vidistine illum? Vidi*. Yet, rarely, *etiam* was used for "yes," and *non* alone for "no."

PART III.

EXERCISES.

1. THESEUS was the son of Ægeus, King of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of Pittheus, King of Trœzen. On his return to Athens, Ægeus left Æthra behind him at Trœzen, enjoining her not to send their son to Athens till he was strong enough to lift from beneath a stone of prodigious weight, his father's sword and sandals, which would serve as tokens of recognition. Theseus, when grown to manhood, accomplished the appointed feat with ease, and took the road to Athens over the Isthmus of Corinth, a journey beset with many dangers from robbers, who barbarously mutilated or killed the unhappy wayfarers who fell into their hands. But Theseus overcame them all, and arrived at Athens in safety, where he was recognized by Ægeus, and declared his successor. Among his many memorable achievements, the most famous was his deliverance of Athens from the frightful tribute imposed upon it by Minos for the murder of his son. This consisted of seven youths and seven maidens, whom the Athenians were compelled to send every nine years to Crete, there to be devoured by the Minotaur, a monster with a bull's head, which Minos kept concealed in an inextricable labyrinth. The third ship was already on the point of sailing with its cargo of innocent victims, when Theseus offered to go with them, hoping to put an end forever to the horrible tribute.

2. Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, became enamoured of the hero, and having supplied him with a clue to trace the windings of the labyrinth, Theseus succeeded in killing the monster, and tracking his way out of the mazy lair. As he returned towards Athens, the pilot forgot to hoist the white

sail agreed on as the signal of success, in place of the black sail usually carried by the vessels which bore that melancholy tribute; whereupon Ægeus, thinking that his son had perished, threw himself into the sea which afterwards bore his name. Theseus, having now ascended the throne, proceeded to lay the foundations of the future greatness of Athens. He united into one political body the twelve independent states into which Cecrops had divided Attica, and made Athens the capital of the new kingdom. In order to accommodate the increased population of the city, he covered with buildings the ground lying to the south of the Cecropian citadel; and in commemoration of the union, he instituted the festivals of the Panathenæa and Synoikia in honor of Athene, the patron goddess of the city. He then divided the citizens into three classes,—the nobles, the husbandmen, and the artisans. He is further said to have established a constitutional government, retaining in his own hands only certain definite powers and privileges, so that he was regarded in a later age as the founder of civil equality in Athens.

3. The Spartans encamped at the foot of the mountain; but Aristomenes frequently sallied from his fortress, and ravaged the lands of Laconia with fire and sword. It is unnecessary to relate all the wonderful exploits of this hero in his various incursions. Thrice did he offer to Jove Ithomates the sacrifice called Hecatombonia, reserved for the warrior who had slain a hundred enemies with his own hand. Thrice was he taken prisoner; on two occasions he burst his bonds, but on the third he was carried to Sparta and thrown, with his fifty companions, into a deep pit called Ceadas. His comrades were all killed by the fall; but Aristomenes reached the bottom unhurt. He saw, however, no means of escape, and had resigned himself to death; but, on the third day, perceiving a fox creeping among the bodies, he grasped its tail, and following the animal as it struggled to escape, discovered an

opening in the rocks. Through the favor of the gods the hero thus escaped, and on the next day was at Ira to the surprise alike of friends and foes. But his single prowess was not sufficient to avert the ruin of his country; he had incurred, moreover, the anger of the Dioscuri, or the twin gods, and the favor of heaven was therefore turned from him. One night the Spartans surprised Ira while Aristomenes was disabled by a wound; but he collected the bravest of his followers, and forced his way through the enemy. He took refuge in Arcadia, but the plan which he had formed for surprising Sparta was betrayed by Aristocrates, whom his countrymen stoned for his treachery.

4. The sway of Periander, on the other hand, is universally condemned as oppressive and cruel. Many of the tales related of him may be regarded as the calumnies of his enemies; but there is good reason for believing that he ruled with a rod of iron. The way in which he treated the nobles is illustrated by a well-known tale which has been transferred to the early history of Rome. Soon after his accession, Periander is said to have sent to Thrasybulus, despot of Miletus, for advice as to the best mode of maintaining his power. Without giving an answer in writing, Thrasybulus led the messenger through a cornfield, cutting off, as he went, the tallest ears of corn. He then dismissed the messenger, telling him to inform his master how he had found him employed. The action was rightly interpreted by Periander, who proceeded to rid himself of the powerful nobles of the state. The anecdote, whether true or not, is an indication of the common opinion entertained of the government of Periander. We are further told that he protected his person by a body-guard of mercenaries, and kept all rebellion in check by his rigorous measures. It is admitted on all hands that he possessed great ability and military skill; and, however oppressive his government may have been to the citizens of

Corinth, he raised the city to a state of great prosperity and power, and made it respected alike by friends and foes.

5. When the appointed time arrived, the conspirators appeared armed like the rest of the citizens, but carrying concealed daggers besides. Harmodius and Aristogeiton had planned to kill Hippias first, as he was arranging the order of the procession in the Ceramicus; but upon approaching the spot where he was standing they were thunder-struck at beholding one of the conspirators in close conversation with the despot. Believing that they were betrayed, and resolving before they died to wreak their vengeance upon Hipparchus, they rushed back into the city with their daggers hid in the myrtle boughs which they were to have carried in the procession. They found him near the chapel called Leocorion, and killed him on the spot. Harmodius was immediately cut down by the guards. Aristogeiton escaped for the time, but was afterwards taken, and died under the tortures to which he was subjected in order to compel him to disclose his accomplices. The news of his brother's death reached Hippias before it became generally known. With extraordinary presence of mind he called upon the citizens to drop their arms, and meet him in an adjoining ground. They obeyed without suspicion. He then apprehended those on whose persons daggers were discovered, and all besides whom he had any reason to suspect.

6. The successes of Athens had excited the jealousy of the Spartans, and they now resolved to make the third attempt to overthrow the Athenian democracy. They had meantime discovered the deception which had been practised upon them by the Delphic oracle, and they invited Hippias to come from Sigeum to Sparta, in order to restore him to Athens. The experience of the last campaign had taught them that they could not calculate upon the co-operation of their allies without first obtaining their approval of the

project; and they therefore summoned deputies from all their allies to meet at Sparta, in order to determine respecting the restoration of Hippias. The despot was present at the congress; and the Spartans urged the necessity of checking the growing insolence of the Athenians by placing over them their former master. But their proposal was received with universal repugnance, and the Corinthians again expressed the general indignation at the design. "Surely heaven and earth are about to change places, when you Spartans propose to set up in the cities that wicked and bloody thing called a despot. First try what it is for yourselves at Sparta, and then force it upon others. If you persist in a scheme so wicked, know that the Corinthians will not second you." These vehement remonstrances were received with such approbation by the other allies that the Spartans found it necessary to abandon their project. Hippias returned to Sigeum, and afterwards proceeded to the court of Darius.

7. This important revolution excited alike the anger, the fears, and the hopes of Cræsus. Anxious to avenge his brother-in-law, to arrest the alarming growth of the Persian power, and to enlarge his own dominions, he resolved to attack the new monarch. But before embarking upon so perilous an enterprise he consulted the oracles of Amphiaraus, and of Apollo at Delphi, in whose veracity he placed the most unbounded confidence. The reply of both oracles was that "if he should make war upon the Persians, he would destroy a mighty monarchy," and they both advised him to make allies of the most powerful among the Greeks. Understanding the response to refer to the Persian empire, and not, as the priests explained it after the event, to his own, he had no longer any hesitation in beginning the war. In obedience to the oracles, he first sent to the Spartans to solicit their alliance, which was readily granted, but no

troops were sent to his immediate assistance. He then crossed the Halys at the head of a large army, laid waste the country of the Syrians of Cappadocia, and took several of their towns. Cyrus lost no time in coming to the help of his distant subjects. The two armies met near the Pterian plain in Cappadocia, where a bloody, but indecisive, battle was fought. As the forces of Cræsus were inferior in number to those of the Persian king, he thought it more prudent to return to Sardis, and collect a large army for the next campaign.

8. Cyrus anticipated his enemies' plans; he waited till the Lydian king had re-entered his capital and dismissed his troops; and he then marched upon Sardis with such celerity that he appeared under the walls of the city before any one could notice his approach. Cræsus was thus compelled to fight without the help of his allies; but he did not despair of success; for the Lydian cavalry was distinguished for its efficiency, and the open plain before Sardis was favorable for its evolutions. To render this force useless, Cyrus placed in front of his lines the baggage camels, which the Lydian horses could not endure either to see or to smell. The Lydians, however, did not on this account decline the contest; they dismounted from their horses, and fought bravely on foot; and it was not until after a fierce contest that they were obliged to take refuge within the city. Here they considered themselves secure, till their allies should come to their aid; for the fortifications of Sardis were deemed impregnable to assault. There was, however, one side of the city which had been left unfortified, because it stood upon a rock so high and steep as to seem quite inaccessible. But on the fourteenth day of the siege a Persian soldier, having seen one of the garrison descend this rock to pick up his helmet which had rolled down, climbed up the same way, followed by several of his comrades. Sardis was

thus taken; Crœsus with all his treasures fell into the hands of Cyrus.

9. The Roman people scarcely ever underwent a greater danger than in the war with the Volscians. Coriolanus, leading the enemy, in a series of uninterrupted victories had already advanced almost to the city walls; already had the Romans given up all hope of peace and were preparing to endure a siege; already the women filled the streets with their cries, and ran to all the sacred places, especially to the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus. There, on the top of the steps of the temple, Valeria, turning to the women, said: "There is one means of safety still left, and it depends upon you alone." When all, with tears, begged to know what they could do, she said: "Come all of you with me to the house of Veturia and implore her to have pity upon the city, and especially the women, and to go into the enemy's camp, and beseech her son with prayers and tears not to bring yet greater harm upon his country." Thereupon the whole company went to Veturia, who, in wonder, asked why they came in such numbers to her debased and unfortunate house. Then Valeria embraced her knees, and said: "Be reconciled and hear the prayer of those who have done no wrong against thee or thy son, but who, if the city be taken, must suffer the utmost misfortunes. Go, beg thy son to make peace with his countrymen and return to his native land. If thou bringest him back, thou wilt win undying glory, and make the women honored in the sight of the men for having ended a war which they themselves could not end." Veturia granted their prayer and saved the city.

10. Phocion, of whom we read in Cornelius Nepos that he refused a great sum of money which had been offered him by Philip, king of Macedonia, in order not to have the appearance of preferring the friendship of a foreign king to the freedom of his country, maintained the same demeanor also

toward his son, Alexander. For, when he sent him a hundred talents as a present, Phocion asked those who had brought the money why Alexander sent him alone presents of all the numerous Athenians. When they answered that he alone seemed to Alexander to be an upright and honorable man, he said: "Then let the king suffer me to be one and to count for such." The ambassadors, however, persisted; but he said: "If I should take this money which you offer me and not use it, this great treasure would have come into my hands in vain, and I should make a bad reputation for myself and Alexander among the Athenians." So the money was taken back to Alexander in Asia. But he was displeased that his present had been scorned by Phocion, and wrote to him, that he did not regard as friends people who would accept nothing from him. At the same time, he offered him the money anew, and named four cities of Asia of which he might choose one at will to receive the revenue from. Phocion, however, would not accept this offer either; but, in order not to seem to scorn Alexander's generosity, he begged the king to set free four Athenians who were kept in chains in the citadel of Sardis, and Alexander immediately gave orders that they should be released.

11. Hannibal was the only man who perceived that he was aimed at by the Romans; and that peace was only allowed the Carthaginians on the understanding that a remorseless war should be maintained against himself alone. He therefore resolved to submit to the crisis and to his fate; and having prepared everything for flight, he first publicly appeared in the forum on that day in order to avert suspicion; but, as soon as darkness fell, departed in his out-of-doors dress, with two attendants ignorant of his design. Horses being in readiness at the spot where they had been ordered, he passed through Byzacium by night, and arrived on the following day at a castle of his own on the seacoast. There

a vessel prepared and manned with rowers received him. Thus did Hannibal leave Africa, pitying the fate of his country more than his own. Landing at the isle of Cercina, and finding there several Phœnician merchant-ships in the harbor, and a concourse of people having flocked together to welcome him as he disembarked from the vessel, he ordered that all who inquired should be informed that he had been sent as ambassador to Tyre. Then, fearing that through these merchants his flight might be discovered at Carthage, he invited the merchants and captains of the vessels to a great banquet, and ordered that the sails and yards should be brought from the ships, that they might enjoy the shade while supping on the shore. The feast was protracted with a profusion of wine to a late hour of the night, and Hannibal, as soon as he found an opportunity of escaping the notice of those who were in the harbor, unmoored his vessel, and sailed away.

12. The next day, Hannibal, crossing the Anio, drew out all his forces in order of battle, nor did Flaccus decline the contest. The troops on both sides having been drawn up to try the chances of a battle, in which the city of Rome was to be the conqueror's prize, a violent shower mingled with hail so disordered both the lines, that the troops, scarcely able to hold their arms, retired into their camps, with less fear of the enemy than anything else. On the following day, also, a similar storm separated the armies marshalled on the same ground. After they had retired to their camps, an extraordinary calm and tranquillity arose; whereupon Hannibal is said to have cried out, that at one moment the inclination, at another the opportunity, of becoming master of Rome was not allowed him. Other contingencies also, the one important, the other insignificant, diminished his hopes. The one was, that, while he was encamped near the walls of the city, he heard that troops had marched out with colors flying, as a reinforcement for Spain; the other, that it

was discovered, from one of his prisoners, that at this very time the very ground on which he was encamped had been sold, with no diminution of the price on that account. In fact, it appeared so great an insult and indignity that a purchaser should have been found at Rome for the very soil which he possessed as the prize of war, that, calling instantly for a crier, he ordered that the silversmiths' shops, which then were ranged around the forum, should be put up for sale.

13. They had crossed the plain to the foot of the hills in the dark, during the last watch of the night, and found the passes unguarded. But the people fled from the villages at their approach, and, though the Greeks at first spared their property, could not be induced to listen to any offers of peace; but having recovered from their first surprise, and collected a part of their forces, they fell upon the rear of the Greeks, and with their missiles made some slaughter among the last troops, which issued in the dusk of the evening from the long and narrow defile. In the night the watch-fires of the Carduchians were seen blazing on the peaks of the surrounding hills; signals which warned the Greeks that they might expect to be attacked by the collected forces of their tribes. On the fifth day, as the army was ascending a lofty ridge distinguished by the name of the Sacred Mountain, Xenophon and the rear-guard observed a stoppage and an unusual clamor in the foremost ranks, which had reached the summit, and they supposed at first that they saw an enemy before them. But when Xenophon rode up to ascertain the cause, the first shouts that struck his ear were, "The sea, the sea!" The glad sound ran quickly till it reached the hindmost, and all pressed forward to enjoy the cheering sight. The Euxine spread its waters before their eyes; waters which rolled on the shores of Greece, and which washed the walls of many Greek cities on the nearest coast of Asia.

14. Diogenes asked Plato for a glass of wine, and he presently sent him a gallon. When next Diogenes met him, he said to him: "I asked you how many were two and two, and you have answered, twenty." There are some of so noble a disposition, that, like trees of ripe fruit, by degrees they drop away all that they have; they would even outdo the demands of all their friends, and would give as if they were gods that could not be exhausted; they look not so much either at the merit of others, or their own ability, as at the satisfaction to themselves from their own bounty. I find not a higher genius in this way than glowed in the victorious Alexander. He warred as if he coveted all things, and gave away as if he cared for nothing. You would think he did not conquer for himself, but his friends; and that he took only that he might have wherewith to give; so that one might well conclude the world itself was too little for either his ambition or his bounty. When Perillus begged that he would be pleased to give him a portion for his daughters, he immediately commanded him fifty talents. The modest beggar told him ten would be enough. To which the prince replied: "Though it might be enough for him to receive, yet it was not enough for himself to bestow."

15. When Herodotus says of Miltiades that, at Marathon, he suspected that, if they did not immediately fight a decisive battle, the Athenians might change their minds and go over to the Persians, the state of the case must be that Miltiades only put forth this suspicion in order to win over to his side the polemarch Callimachus, who was undecided which of the two parties among the generals to join. For, when the Athenians had been led out to battle, they showed themselves most brave, and were the first of the Greeks, as Herodotus himself says, who held out against the Persians, whose name till then had been an object of terror to all. They gave also a marked example of their valor at the battle

of Plataea. When the Greeks had drawn themselves up in battle array at the foot of Mount Cithaeron, and would not come down into the plain, Mardonius sent all his cavalry against them under the leadership of Mastitius. The Megareans happened to occupy the point which was most exposed to the attack of the cavalry. When they had resisted a little while, they declared that they could not longer withstand the onslaught of the enemy, and would leave the field if the others did not relieve them. As soon as Pausanias learned this, he put the Greeks to the test to see whether they would voluntarily undertake the task. Then, while all the others refused, the Athenians undertook to go to the aid of the Megareans, and three hundred were chosen from their number who succeeded in putting to flight the hostile cavalry and reviving the courage of all anew.

16. They resolved, however, to manage the matter with poison, which Marcia undertook that she would easily give him. For she was accustomed to mix and hand to him his first cup, that the draught might be sweeter as coming from his lover's hand. As soon, therefore, as he came out of the bath, she handed him the poison mixed with the most perfumed wine in a cup. He, having become thirsty from long bathing and hunting, drank it up without consideration, supposing it to have been tasted beforehand, according to custom; on which account, being directly seized with a pain in the head, and a great drowsiness having come upon him, he immediately sought repose, thinking this was due to his exertions. Electus, however, and Marcia, ordered all persons directly to retire, and every one to go to his own home, that they might not awaken Commodus, as he stood in need of sleep. On other occasions, also, this had often happened in consequence of his excessive drunkenness, for as he spent his time in the bath or at the table, he had no fixed time of rest. For pleasures, following in quick succession and very

different from one another, compel men to serve them at any time, even against their will. After, then, he had rested a little while, and by this time the force of the poison had begun to affect his stomach, he vomited a great deal; and the conspirators began to fear that, when he had ejected the poison, he would recover, and order them all to be slain together. Accordingly, they induced, by a great bribe, a bold and powerful young man, named Narcissus, to strangle him in his chamber.

17. Wise men have often remarked, that opinions should be estimated not by number, but by weight; and that the judgment of one single man of worth and intelligence ought to be more highly prized than that of the inexperienced many, whom to satisfy and please, appeared to the ancient musicians a proof of deficiency in artistic skill. Accordingly, we are told that Pericles, when he saw occasionally that the crowd around him applauded his speech, used to fear he had made a mistake, and that he must have said more or less than he ought to have said. And it is mentioned with commendation of Antinous that, when all except Plato left him during the recitation of his long poem, he observed: "I will go on reading all the same, for one Plato is to me worth many thousands." So, too, Cicero, when he could persuade Cato only, did not regard the opinions of others. "Our Cato," says he, "who by himself is worth a hundred thousand in my eyes." And in another place he says of Peducæus: "Only read it to Sextus, and send me word what he thinks of it—*εἰς ἐμοὶ μύρια*." As it is certain that those Greek words are taken from some ancient writer, — and yet no one, so far as I know, has shown from whom, — I consider it not out of place to state my opinion on the subject. I conjecture, then, that they are taken from Democritus, from whom Seneca quotes the following remark: "One is in my eyes as the people, and the people as one."

18. Pausanias has given us, in the following anecdote, a remarkable proof of the feeling of the Greeks in reference to bodily strength and health. Timanthes of Cleonæ was a distinguished Pancratiast, and had, as such, obtained a victory in the Olympic games. Although he afterwards gave up athletic contests, he nevertheless used every day to test his strength by stringing a great bow. At last, however, he undertook a journey, and during his absence he intermitted the exercise by which he put his strength to the proof. Immediately after his return, he made trial of the bow, to see if his strength was still unimpaired, and finding himself unable to string it, he forthwith erected a funeral pile, set fire to it, and cast himself into the flames. Pausanias says hereupon, that he regards such an act as a proof of madness, not of courage. No doubt such conduct cannot be designated by the latter name, but to judge from the point of view assumed by the ancient Greeks, the term madness is too harsh. To Timanthes, as an athlete and Olympic visitor, full and unimpaired strength must have formed the very ideal of life. When this was lost, his ideal was gone, and life appeared to the crowned Agonistes as a faded flower, without beauty, without any enduring charm, without joy; and he acted accordingly only after the manner of a Greek endued in the highest degree with an ardent imagination and strong feelings. Perhaps, too, he thought of the shame of the suitors of Penelope, when none of them was able to bend the bow of Ulysses.

19. The Greek colonies, unlike most which have been founded in modern times, did not consist of a few straggling bands of adventurers, scattered over the country in which they were settled, and only coalescing into a city at a later period. On the contrary, the Greek colonists formed from the beginning an organized political body. Their first care upon settling in their adopted country was to found a city,

and to erect in it those public buildings which were essential to the religious and social life of a Greek. Hence it was quickly adorned with temples for the worship of the gods, with an agora or place of public meeting for the citizens, with a gymnasium for the exercise of the youth, and at a later time with a theatre for dramatic representations. Almost every colonial Greek city was built upon the sea-coast, and the site usually selected contained a hill high enough to form an acropolis. The spot chosen for the purpose was for the most part seized by force from the original inhabitants of the country. The relation in which the colonists stood to the latter naturally varied in different localities. In some places they were reduced to slavery or expelled from the district; in others they became the subjects of the conquerors, or were admitted to a share of their political rights. In many cases intermarriages took place between the colonists and the native population, and thus a foreign element was introduced among them, a circumstance which must not be lost sight of, especially in tracing the history of the Ionic colonies.

20. In the heroic age Greece was already divided into a number of independent states, each governed by its own king. The authority of the king was not limited by any laws. His power resembled that of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, and for the exercise of it he was responsible only to Jove, and not to his people. It was from the Olympian god that his ancestors had received the supremacy, and he transmitted it, as a divine inheritance, to his son. He had the sole command of his people in war, he administered to them justice in peace, and he offered on their behalf prayers and sacrifices to the gods. He was the general, judge, and priest of his people. They looked up to him with reverence as a being of divine descent and divine appointment; but at the same time he was obliged to possess personal superiority,

both of mind and body, to keep alive this feeling in his subjects. It was necessary that he should be brave in war, wise in counsel, and eloquent in debate. If a king became weak in body or feeble in mind, he could not easily retain his position. But as long as his personal qualities commanded the respect of his subjects, they quietly submitted to acts of violence and caprice. An ample domain was assigned to him for his support, and he received frequent presents to avert his enmity and gain his favor.

21. The popular party was no longer headed by Diocles. We do not know the exact time or occasion of his death, but the circumstances attending it are most remarkable. One of the laws of his code had denounced the penalty of death against any man who came into the market-place armed. This was especially directed, no doubt, against the aristocratical party, who were apt to resort to violence in order to break up or intimidate the assemblies of the people, or to revenge themselves on any of the more obnoxious popular leaders. It happened that Diocles had marched out of the city on an alarm of some hostile inroad, — perhaps that very attempt of Hermocrates to get back to Syracuse by force, which has been already noticed. But he was suddenly recalled by the news that the enemy were in the city, and, armed as he was, he hastened back to meet them, and found them already in possession of the market-place. A private citizen, most probably after the fray was over, when the death of so eminent a citizen as Hemocrates would be deeply felt, even by many of his political adversaries, called out to Diocles in allusion to his having appeared in arms in the market-place: “Ah, Diocles, thou art making void thine own laws!” “Nay, rather,” was his reply, “I will ratify them thus”; and he instantly stabbed himself to the heart. Such a spirit, so sincere, and so self-devoted, might well have been the founder of freedom and of legal order for his

country, and saved her, had his life been prolonged, from the selfish ambition of Dionysius.

22. At last the Sabines made a vow that if they should conquer their enemies, all the living creatures born in their land in that year should be devoted to the gods as sacred. They did conquer, and they offered in sacrifice accordingly all the lambs and calves and pigs of that year; and such animals as might not be sacrificed they redeemed. But still their land would not yield its fruits, and when they thought what was the cause of it, they considered that their vow had not been duly performed; for all their own children born within that year had been kept back from the gods, and had neither been sacrificed nor redeemed. So they devoted all their children to the god Mamers; and when they were grown up, they sent them away to become a new people in a new land. When the young men set out on their way it happened that a bull went before them, and they thought that Mamers had sent him to be their guide, and they followed him. He laid himself down to rest for the first time when he had come to the land of the Opicans, and the Sabines thought that this was a sign to them, and they fell upon the Opicans who dwelt in scattered villages without walls to defend them, and they drove them out, and took possession of their land. Then they offered the bull in sacrifice to Mamers, who had sent him to be their guide, and a bull was the device which they bore in after ages, and they themselves were no more called Sabines, but they took a new name and were called Samnites.

23. Pyrrhus resolved to attack Curius before his colleague joined him, and he planned an attack upon his camp by night. He set out by torch-light with the flower of his soldiers and the best of his elephants, but the way was long and the country overgrown with woods, and intersected with deep ravines; so that his progress was slow, and at last the

lights were burned out and the men were continually missing their way. Day broke before they reached their destination, but still the enemy were not aware of their approach till they had surmounted the heights above the Roman camp, and were descending to attack it from the vantage-ground. Then Curius led out his troops to oppose them, and the nature of the ground gave the Romans a great advantage over the heavy-armed Greek infantry as soon as the attempt to surprise them had failed. But the action seems to have been decided by an accident; for one of Pyrrhus's elephants was wounded, and, running wild among his own men, threw them into disorder; nor could they offer a long resistance, being almost exhausted with the fatigue of their night march. They were repulsed with great loss, two elephants were killed, and eight being forced into impracticable ground from which there was no outlet, were surrendered to the Romans by their drivers. Thus encouraged, Curius no longer declined a decisive action on unequal ground; he descended into the plain and met Pyrrhus in the open field.

24. The way to Africa was now open, and the consuls, after having filled their ships with more than their usual supplies, as they knew not what port would next receive them, prepared to leave the coast of Sicily and to cross the open sea to an unknown world. The soldiers and even one of the military tribunes murmured. They had been kept from home during one whole winter, and now they were to be carried to a strange country into the very stronghold of their enemies' power, to a land of scorching heat and infested with noisome beasts and monstrous serpents, such as all stories of Africa had told them of. Regulus, it is said, threatened the tribune with death, and forced the men on board. The fleet did not keep together, and thirty ships reached the African shore unsupported, and might have been destroyed before the arrival of the rest, had not the Carthaginians in

their confusion neglected their opportunity. When the whole fleet was re-assembled, under the headland of Hermes, they stood to the southward along the coast, and disembarked the legions near the place called Aspis or Clypea, a fortress built by Agathocles about fifty years before, and deriving its name from its walls forming a circle upon the top of a conical hill. They immediately drew their ships up on the beach after the ancient manner, and secured them with a ditch and rampart, and having fortified Clypea, and despatched messengers to Rome with the news of their success, and to ask for further instructions, they began to march into the country.

25. When the signal was given, the Carthaginian cavalry and elephants immediately advanced, and the Romans, clashing their pila against the iron rims of their shields, and cheering loudly, rushed on to meet them. The left wing, passing by the right of the line of elephants, attacked the Carthaginian mercenaries and routed them; Xanthippus rode up to rally them, threw himself from his horse, and fought amongst them as a common soldier. Meantime his cavalry had swept the Roman and Italian horse from the field, and then charged the legions on the rear, while the elephants, driving the velites before them into the intervals of the maniples, broke into the Roman main battle, and with irresistible weight, and strength, and fury trampled under foot, and beat down, and dispersed the bravest. If any forced their way forwards through the elephants' line, they were received by the Carthaginian infantry, who, being fresh and in unbroken order, presently cut them to pieces. Two thousand men of the left of the Roman army escaped after they had driven the mercenaries to their camp, and found that all was lost behind them. Regulus himself, with five hundred more, fled also from the rout, but was pursued, overtaken, and made prisoner. The rest of the Roman army was destroyed to a man on the field of battle.

The few fugitives of the left wing made their escape to Clypea. Tunes, it seems, was lost immediately, and, except Clypea, the Romans did not retain a foot of ground in Africa.

26. The Duke of Nemours, learning that the first fort was taken, but that Bayard was mortally wounded, felt as much grief as if he himself had received the blow. "Let us go, my friends and comrades," he cried; "let us go, and avenge the death of the most accomplished knight that ever lived. Follow me." On his arrival, the Venetians, already driven back, left the rampart, and with the idea of re-entering the town, tried to raise the bridge, which would have been a great hindrance to the French. But they unfortunately had no time to do what they intended. The French pursued them so quickly, that they all entered together pell-mell, and arriving in this manner in the great square, found all the cavalry ranged ready for battle. The French horsemen and foot-soldiers were very brave, and distinguished themselves particularly by their feats of valor. Captain Bonnet commenced the attack, which was furious indeed. The poor French had not only to fight against the men, but to stand the attacks of the women of the town, who, from the windows of the houses, threw stones, bricks, boiling water, and pieces of furniture upon them. In this battle, which scarcely lasted half an hour, the Venetians were totally defeated. From seven thousand to eight thousand lay dead in the square, and the rest sought safety in flight. But from street to street they met soldiers who gave them no quarter.

27. My just grief was increased by my inability to assist or advise you in so great a danger. What was I to do? Write to your adversaries, and bid them desist from their animosity? as if they, who had not spared an innocent man himself, would spare the advocate of innocence. What then? Could I throw off all shame and console such a great philosopher as you? Accordingly, my dear Caselius, after I

had received your first letter from which I learnt in how great a war you were involved, I was especially vexed that I had nothing to assist you with except my good will. But it is fortunate that a merciful God has at once consulted for your innocence and my anxiety, and made the way plain for both of us by enabling you to conquer and me to congratulate you. I do, therefore, congratulate you ; first, because you have prevailed, not by those means by which you might have conquered had you wished, — I mean your eloquence and abilities, — but by those in which you were strongest, — the confidence of innocence and the goodness of your cause. Then, because your trial came off before a most illustrious prince ; and what could be more honorable to you than this ? I, for my part, would not take heaps of gold, if such a price were to buy me off from danger, when I might have him for my judge who is able by his wisdom to extract the truth, by his humanity to defend innocence, by his authority to drive away slander.

28. Although, my dear Stadius, it matters much at what time I interrupt you, — whether at a time when you are occupied with your office of public teacher, or when you are entirely free from all anxiety and occupation, — nevertheless I have not feared to address you to-day, in order that I may make you at once my judge and my advocate in the matter which I wish to lay before you ; for I am so situated, that, unless you by your all-sufficient authority set me free from the danger which threatens me, I have to fear lest no place be left to me in the republic of letters, so great is the envy under which I am laboring ; and although this has happened through no serious fault of my own, yet, seeing that the minds of all are excited to such a degree that they seem to seek for nothing else than a designed attack upon my name, I have resolved to commit my complaints to writing, and lay them at your feet. I, my dear Stadius, having, while yet a

stripling, lost my father, — a good man and brave soldier, — betook myself to Paris with such little learning as I had in order that I might study the liberal arts. There I did not long avail myself of oral instruction, but rather enjoyed the mute teaching of books ; and as soon as ever I was in a situation to publish some specimens of my own studies, I brought out my conjectures on Varro's book "De Sermone Latino." That book was originally published during my residence in Poitou, and it was the first prelude to my literary reputation.

29. I add this also, and I think it very much to the point, that Burke, whatever he was doing, or wherever he turned himself in his mind and in his thoughts, always seemed to have attained a knowledge of his subject, and to have written most admirably and most beautifully on almost every topic which is connected with belles-lettres. There are, however, some who think that the practice of eloquence ought to be kept distinct from the study of polite literature, and be limited to the exercise of a man's natural genius aided by a little experience. The natural eloquence of Burke, admirable as it is, has been aided by a most careful education and by a long and laborious course of study. No doubt he took pains to have his mind thoroughly imbued with Greek and Latin literature, because he found therein the proper and, if I may so say, the legitimate ornaments of oratory, and because classical learning almost insensibly produces the habit of speaking English in a classical manner. Demosthenes is said to have frequently read Plato, and even to have been one of his hearers ; indeed, a very grave authority, M. Cicero, maintains that this appears from the style and sublimity of his speeches. As for Burke, how consummate a scholar he is, is sufficiently plain from those speeches of his in which all learned men will at once recognize a more studied and elaborate style of oratory. While he was still

a very young man, his genius, like a statue of Phidias, was no sooner seen than admitted.

30. My lord, if the king has gained the battle, I swear to you that the poor gentlemen have lost it; for while we gave chase, the Duke de Nemours saw some of our foot-soldiers who required help. He rushed to their rescue, but the gentle prince was so badly accompanied that he was killed. Of all mourning that was ever known, never was so much sorrow surely, as has been and is now being shown in our camp, for it seems as if we had lost the battle. I promise you, my lord, it is the most pitiful death of any prince these three hundred years. And if he had lived to be old, he would have done deeds that no other prince ever did before him. Yesterday morning, the body of the late duke was taken to Milan with all possible honors. Two hundred men at arms accompanied him, and carried before him eighteen or twenty of the most triumphant banners gained in this battle. He will remain at Milan till the king has sent word if he will have him conveyed to France or not. My lord, our army is going temporarily by the Romagna, taking all the towns for the council of Pisa. They will not wait for us to implore them to give themselves up; they will be afraid of being plundered as Ravenna has been, in which nothing remains. And we shall not stir from that quarter till the king has sent word what he wishes his army to do.

31. After so long a silence, and after the many unfavorable reports, which must, I dare say, have prejudiced my dear friend against me, how shall I endeavor to vindicate a conduct which has but too much deserved her censure? But if my dear friend will suspend her judgment till I have made her acquainted with my real motives, I flatter myself she will rather be induced to pity than condemn me. At the time I wrote last my mind was in a state of distraction not to be conceived; but I little thought then I should ever be forced

to the cruel necessity of leaving my friends and becoming an exile from everything I hold dear. I confess myself greatly to blame in my behavior. But I cannot explain myself on this subject without acquainting you with the first cause of every uneasiness and indiscretion I have since been guilty of. Let me then, my dear girl, beg your patience ; for though my story is long and not very enlivening, yet such is the affection I have for you that I cannot bear to think it possible that by the various reports which are so industriously propagated I may entirely lose your good opinion and esteem, — a thing of all others I should most regret. Excuse my being tedious, and when you know the motive which induced me to take this last step, I flatter myself you will once more restore me to your friendship.

32. The Spaniards showed as sincere regret at his death as the whole of France showed. As soon as he was dead, the guard that the Marquis of Pescara had given him bore him, according to that nobleman's orders, into the nearest church, where services were said over him for two days, after which they gave the body to his gentlemen and his servants with passports to transport it to France. When the king heard of the death of Bayard, he was sorely afflicted for many days, and paid this tribute to him. "We have lost," said he, "a great captain, whose name alone made his arms feared and honored. Truly, he deserved more benefits and higher charges than those he had. If the knight Bayard, who was valued and experienced, had been alive and near me, my affairs, no doubt, would have been in better order. I should have taken and believed in his advice, I should not have separated my army, I should not have left my entrenchment ; and then his presence would have been worth a hundred captains to me, he had gained so much confidence amongst us and so much fear from our enemies. Ah ! knight Bayard, how I miss you ! I should not be here if you were alive."

33. When Dorcis arrived he found that the allies had transferred the command of the fleet to the Athenians. There were other reasons for this step besides the disgust occasioned by the conduct of Pausanias. Even before the battle of Salamis the preponderating power of Athens had raised the question whether she was not entitled to the command at sea, and the victory gained there under the auspices of Themistocles had strengthened her claim to that distinction. But the delivery of the Ionian colonies from the Persian yoke was the immediate cause of her attaining it. The Ionians were not only attracted to Athens by affinity of race, but from her naval superiority regarded her as the only power capable of securing them in their newly-acquired independence. Disgusted by the insolence of Pausanias, the Ionians now serving in the combined Grecian fleet addressed themselves to Aristides and Cimon, whose manners formed a striking contrast to those of the Spartan leader, and begged them to assume the command. Aristides was the more inclined to listen to this request, as it was made precisely at the time when Pausanias was recalled. The Spartan squadron had accompanied him home, so that when Dorcis arrived with a few ships he found himself in no condition to assert his pretensions. This event was not a mere empty question about a point of honor. It was a real revolution terminated by a solemn league, of which Athens was to be the head; and though it is wrong to date the Athenian empire from this period, yet it cannot be doubted that this confederacy formed the first step towards it.

34. Here, however, I fear lest all the admirers of Horace should agree in controverting us, and that, too, somewhat sharply, for excluding that most elegant poet from the number of those whom we call the chiefs of poetry. But if, in a question of that kind, the pleasure derived by those who read poetry for amusement's sake were the first thing to be con-

sidered, who would not gladly concede to Flaccus the highest, or, at any rate, all but the highest place, as being certainly the merriest of all poets; one who most admirably tempers the grave with the gay; and that, too, not with rude and uncultivated gaiety, but such as becomes a gentleman, so that, when once admitted, as Perseus says, "he plays around the heart of every one"? To this must be added, that every one of us, I fancy, retains a pleasing recollection of some poem of Horace's, or, at any rate, of a line or two, such as to recall by the mere sound of the words and syllables, the delights of his boyish years; and whatever dreams, whether grave or cheerful, chiefly pleased him then. Moreover, a circumstance the reverse of which perhaps takes place in most departments of poetry, even when we are growing old, we somehow feel all the greater pleasure in renewing our acquaintance with Horace. But, although I grant all this, and more than this, I am compelled, nevertheless, to admit that I have never yet discovered any source of poetry which Horace can claim as his own.

35. I went down to the Piræus yesterday with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, that I might offer up a prayer to the goddess, and also because I wanted to see in what manner they would celebrate the festival of Bendis, which was a new thing. I was delighted with the procession of the inhabitants; this, however, was equalled or even exceeded in beauty by that of the Thracians. When we had finished our prayers and the spectacle was over, we turned in the direction of the city, and at that instant Polemarchus, the son of Cephalus, who caught sight of us at a distance as we were departing homewards, told his servant to run and bid us wait for him. The servant took hold of me by the cloak behind, and said: "Polemarchus desires you to wait." I turned round and asked him where his master was. "He is coming," said the youth, "if you will only wait." "Certainly we will," said Glaucon;

and in a few minutes Polemarchus appeared, and with him Adeimantus, Glaucon's brother, and several others who had been at the procession. Polemarchus said to me: "I perceive, Socrates, that you and your companions are already on your way to the city." "You are not far wrong," I said. "But do you see," he rejoined, "how many we are?" "I do." "And are you stronger than all these? For, if not, you will have to remain where you are." "May there not be yet another possibility," I said, "that we may persuade you to let us go?" "But can you persuade us if we refuse to listen to you?" he said. "Of course not," replied Glaucon. "Then we are not going to listen, of that you may be assured."

36. If the poet everywhere appears, and never conceals himself, then again the imitation is dropped, and his poetry becomes simple narration. However, in order that I may make my meaning quite clear, I will return to my example. Suppose that Homer had said, "The priest came, having his daughter's ransom in his hands, the suppliant of the Achæans, and above all of the kings"; and then, instead of speaking in the person of Chryses, suppose that he had continued in his own person, the imitation would have passed into narration. He would have said, "Chryses came and prayed the gods on behalf of the Greeks, that they might take Troy and return in peace if Agamemnon would only give him back his daughter, taking the ransom and reverencing the gods. Thus he spoke, and the other Greeks respected him and consented. But Agamemnon was wroth, and bade him depart and not come again, lest the sceptre and crown of the god should be of no avail to him. The daughter of Chryses, he said, should not be released until she had first grown old with him in Argos. And then he told him to go away, and not to provoke him, if he intended to get home safely. And the old man went away in fear and silence, and, having left the camp, he called upon

Apollo by his many names, reminding him of everything which he had done pleasing to him, whether in building his temples or in offering sacrifice, and praying that his good deeds might be returned to him, and that the Achæans might expiate his tears by the arrows of the god." And so on. In this way the whole becomes narrative.

37. "Therefore, as I was just now saying, we must inquire who are the best guardians of their own conviction that the interest of the state is to be the rule of all their actions. We must watch them from their youth upwards, and make them perform actions in which they are most likely to forget or to be deceived, and he who remembers and is not deceived is to be selected, and he who fails in the trial is to be rejected. That will be the way?" "Yes." "And there should also be toils and pains and conflicts prescribed for them in which they will give further proof of the same qualities." "Very right," he replied. "And then," I said, "we must try them with enchantments, that is the third sort of test, and see what will be their behavior. Like those who take colts amid noises and cries to see if they are of a timid nature, so we must take our youth amid terrors of some kind, and again pass them into pleasures and try them more thoroughly than gold is tried in the fire. And he who, at every age as boy and youth and in mature life has come out of the trial victorious and pure, shall be appointed a ruler and guardian of the state. He shall be honored in life and death, and shall receive sepulture and other memorials of honor, the greatest that we have to give. Him we must choose, and reject the opposite of him. I am inclined to think that this is the sort of way in which our rulers and guardians should be appointed."

38. Laws they are not, therefore, which public approbation has not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice, sign, or act, but

who let others do it in their names by right originally, at least, derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding, our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed no less effectually to bind us than if ourselves had done it in person. In many things assent is given, they that give it not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute monarch commandeth his subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion, hath not his edict the force of law, whether they approve or dislike it?

Again, that which hath been received long since, and is by custom now established, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet what consent was ever thereunto sought, or required at our hands? On this point, therefore, we are to note that since men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men, therefore, utterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same by the like universal agreement.

39. Under such conditions, the overrunning of Britain could not fail to be a very different matter from the rapid and easy overrunning of such countries as Gaul. How slow the work of English conquest was, may be seen from the fact that it took nearly thirty years to win Kent alone, and sixty to complete the conquest of Southern Britain, and that the conquest of the bulk of the island was only wrought out after two centuries of bitter warfare. But it was just through the length of the struggle, that of all the German conquests, this proved the most thorough and complete. So far as the English sword

in these earlier days had reached, Britain had become England, a land, that is, not of Britains, but of Englishmen. Even if a few of the vanquished people lingered as slaves round the homesteads of their English conquerors, or a few of their household words mingled with the English tongue, doubtful exceptions such as these leave the main facts untouched. The key-note of the conquest was firmly struck. When the English invasion was stayed for awhile by the civil wars of the invaders, the Briton had disappeared from the greater part of the land which had been his own, and the tongue, the religion, and the laws of his English conquerors reigned without a break from Essex to Staffordshire, and from the British Channel to the Firth of Forth.

40. So singular and incomprehensible is the power of the mind over the body in great emergencies, that that morning dissipated the illnesses of a life. The hour of death, which has the mysterious power sometimes of restoring the lost faculty of reason, transformed Strafford all at once into a strong, healthy man. And now full master of himself, wound up to the highest tone of body and mind, and Strafford all over and complete, he acted on his way to the scaffold the epitome of his life. There was no sullenness or defiance any more than timidity in his behavior, as he marched, a spectator says, like a general at the head of his army, and with open countenance and lofty courtesy, bowed to the gazing crowds as he passed along. Was it not a tacit mode of saying, "People, misled, mistaken, I acquit you, I blame not you; you are not responsible for this scene. I have never had any quarrel with you, nor would you have had with me, had not deeper, subtler heads than yours been at work. All my life I have been your friend; I have had your good in my eye. The poor have been my favorites, and I have stood up for them against the rich oppressor. My arm has been lifted up against the noble and the great, but never against you; and not you,

but your betters have now conspired against me." The mob behaved with respectful silence, and not a word was spoken, nor a finger raised against him as he passed along.

41. The course of another century witnesses the extension of the Roman dominion over the whole of Italy, and the vigorous republic is now prepared to contest the sovereignty of the West with the long-settled and deep-rooted power of Carthage. We find, however, that the Romans do not enter upon this mortal conflict in exclusive dependence upon their own resources. The burghers and the commonalty together are already far outnumbered by the multitude of their subjects, whom they continue to treat as aliens, who are jealous of their sway, and may be expected to rise against them at any favorable opportunity. The strength of the Romans must be invigorated, that of the Italians reduced. Accordingly, we remark the institution of a new form of qualified citizenship conferred upon some of the dependent societies, either as a reward for good service to the republic or to appease their cravings for union with it. The Latin franchise, as it was termed from the people to whom it was first assigned, placed its possessor in a state of subordinate communion with the Roman people. The principal advantage which it conferred related to the means of holding and disposing of property; but the Latin was not deemed worthy to mingle his blood with the Roman, and the child of a mixed marriage became a Latin, and not a Roman citizen. Nor did the republic concede to these dependents the complete right of suffrage.

42. The views to which Cicero thus early devoted himself he continued to cherish through life, even while compelled at times to side with a faction which feared and resented them. He began gradually to conceive a genuine interest for the classes whose cause he advocated, perhaps, we may say, an affection for them, which forms one of the

most pleasing features of his character. He aimed at elevating that middle class already spoken of, as a pledge of the integrity of the constitution. He labored diligently to soften the conflicting views of the nobility and commons, of the Romans and Italians, the victors and the vanquished of the civil wars. Nor was his political course warped like that of his leader, Pompeius, by any impatience of the restraints of law, such as might naturally arise in the breast of a military commander; nor by the criminal desire to rise above them, which the child of Strabo and the lieutenant of Sulla might be supposed to inherit. Cicero's ambition was ardent and soaring, but it was sincerely limited to acquiring the highest honors of the free State. He succeeded in attaining the consulship, and as consul he performed a service for his country as brilliant as any recorded in her annals. But his career of patriotism and loyal service was cut short by the jealousy of his associates and the selfishness of his early patron.

43. Meanwhile Crassus, set aside equally by the leaders of the various sections of the nobility, the idle, the profligate, and the impracticable, felt himself ill at ease, even in his conspicuous position. Cautious, industrious, and studious of appearances, he was himself equally removed from all these extremes, and, without any open rupture, his influence with his party seemed to slip from under him. The return to Rome of Cæsar, the mainspring of everything original and active, breathed new life into him as well as into Pompeius, and was about to form an era in the fortunes of both. The Marian candidate for the consulship was already prepared to establish an intimate connection with each, and at the same time to reconcile them to one another. Crassus soon began to listen with satisfaction to the overtures of so skilful a negotiator. A little adroit flattery served to smooth over the wounds that his vanity had received, and he was easily

induced to withdraw his countenance from friends who knew not how to appreciate his importance, and to bestow it upon those who had the prudence to solicit it. Thus did the three competitors for supreme power combine to form a league among themselves for their mutual advancement. They covenanted that no proceedings should be allowed to take place in the commonwealth without the consent of the three contracting parties.

44. When Pompeius looked back upon his own career from the time of his return from Asia in the enjoyment of unexampled glory, and with the prospect of exerting almost unbounded influence, he could not fail to observe that he had fallen from the summit of dignity which he then occupied, and that Cæsar, a younger aspirant, was threatening to out-climb him at no distant day. He might remark how different had been the course they had respectively pursued. The one had awaited in proud inaction the offer of fresh honors and powers, the other had seized and secured them with his own hands. The one had studied to increase the confusion of public affairs by balancing faction against faction; the other had attached himself without wavering to the party with which he was hereditarily connected. The one had hoped that the necessities of the state would at last combine all men in the common policy of elevating him to the dictatorship; the other had applied himself steadily to the task of reducing his opponents to insignificance, and throwing the creation of a supreme ruler into the hands of his own devoted adherents. Pompeius seems to have now determined to alter his previous course and imitate that of his more audacious competitor by bolder and more hazardous steps, such as he had not shrunk from himself in earlier times when his position was still to be won.

45. Towards the close of the fifteenth century Spain achieved her final triumph over the infidels of Granada, and

made her name glorious through all generations by the discovery of America. The religious zeal and romantic daring which a long course of Moorish wars had called forth were now exalted to redoubled fervor. Every ship from the New World came freighted with marvels which put the fictions of chivalry to shame, and to the Spaniard of that day America was a region of wonder and mystery, of vague and magnificent promise. Thither adventurers hastened, thirsting for glory and for gold, and often mingling the enthusiasm of the crusader and the valor of the knight-errant with the bigotry of inquisitors and the rapacity of pirates. They roamed over land and sea, they climbed unknown mountains, surveyed unknown oceans, pierced the sultry intricacies of tropical forests, while from year to year, and from day to day, new wonders were unfolded, new islands and archipelagoes, new regions of gold and pearl, and barbaric empires of more than oriental wealth. The extravagance of hope and the fever of adventure knew no bounds.

46. When America was first made known to Europe, the part assumed by France on the borders of that new world was peculiar, and is little recognized. While the Spaniard roamed sea and land, burning for achievement, red-hot with bigotry and avarice, and while England with soberer steps and a less dazzling result followed in the path of discovery and gold-hunting, it was from France that those barbarous shores first learned to serve the ends of peaceful commercial industry. A French writer, however, advances a more ambitious claim. In the year 1488, four years before the first voyage of Columbus, America, he maintains, was found by a Frenchman. Cousin, a navigator of Dieppe, being at sea off the African coast, was forced westward, it is said, by winds and currents, to within sight of an unknown shore, where he descried the mouth of a great river. On board his ship was one Pinzon, whose conduct became so mutinous

that, on his return to Dieppe, Cousin made complaint to the magistracy, who thereupon dismissed the offender from the maritime service of the town. Pinzon went to Spain, became known to Columbus, told him the discovery, and joined him on the voyage of 1492. But let us leave this cloudland of vision and approach the confines of recorded history.

47. But what manner of men were the naked, swarthy, befeathered crew running like deer along the borders of the sea, or screeching welcome from the strand? The French rowed towards the shore for a supply of water. The surf ran high; they could not land, but an adventurous young sailor leaped overboard and swam towards the crowd with a gift of beads and trinkets. His heart failed him as he drew near; he flung his gift among them, turned, and struck out for the boat. The surf dashed him back, flinging him with violence on the beach among the recipients of his bounty, who seized him by the arms and legs, and, while he called lustily for aid, answered him with hideous outcries designed to allay his terrors. Next they kindled a great fire, doubtless to roast and devour him before the eyes of his comrades, gazing in horror from their boat. On the contrary, they carefully warmed him, and were trying to dry his clothes, when recovering from his bewilderment he betrayed a strong desire to escape to his friends. Whereupon "with great love, clapping him fast about, with many embracings," they led him to the shore, and stood watching till he had reached the boat.

48. Yet this period was by no means one of hopeless submission on the part of the commons, nor were there wanting subjects of dispute, which the tribunes followed up with vigor. Camillus had vowed to offer to Apollo the tithe of the spoils of Veii, but the town had been plundered before Apollo's portion had been set apart for them, and the sol-

diers, having disposed of all that they had gained, were unwilling to refund it afterwards. The pontifices declared that the vow must be performed, and an appeal was made to the conscience of every individual, calling upon him to value his share of the plunder, and bring the price of the tithe of it into the treasury for the purchase of an offering of gold to Apollo. This call was slowly obeyed, and Camillus complained loudly of the profane neglect of the people; he urged further that his vow had included the tithe not only of the movable property of Veii, but also of the city and territory. The pontifices decided that this too must be paid, and the money was accordingly advanced out of the treasury for this purpose. The money of the Romans of this period was all of copper; gold was dear, and could not readily be procured. Accordingly the Roman matrons are said to have brought to the treasury all their ornaments of gold, and the senate showed its sense of their zeal, by giving them permission to be drawn in a carriage about Rome on all occasions, and to use a peculiar and more luxurious sort of carriage at the games and solemn sacrifices. Yet, after all, the gold was not accepted as a gift; the senate ordered every matron's contribution to be valued and the full price paid to her.

49. Nor is it a little thing that by breaking through the law of our fathers and choosing men of the commons for consuls, we shall declare that riches are to be honored above that rule of order which the gods have given to us. Riches even now can do much for their possessor; but they cannot raise him above the order in which he was born; they cannot buy for him — shame were it if they could — the sovereign state of the consulship, nor the right to offer sacrifice to the gods of Rome. But once let a plebeian be consul, and riches will be the only god which we shall all worship. For then he who has money will need no other help to raise him from the lowest rank to the highest. And then we may suffer such

an evil as that which is now pressing upon the cities of the Greeks and the great island of Sicily. There may arise a man from the lowest of the people, with much craft and great riches, and make himself what the Greeks call a tyrant. Ye scarcely know what the name means — a vile person seizing upon the state and power of a king, trampling upon our law, confounding our order, persecuting the noble and the good, encouraging the evil, robbing the rich, insulting the poor, living for himself alone and for his own desires, neither fearing the gods nor regarding men. This is the curse with which the gods have fitly punished other people for desiring freedom more than the laws their fathers gave them. May we never commit the like folly to bring upon ourselves such a punishment!

50. The extreme moderation of the party opposed to Appius deserves in all these transactions the highest praise. They composed probably a majority in the senate, and if they had exerted their whole strength, they would have been also a majority in the comitia. Yet they suffered Appius to defy the laws for a period of two years and a half, and afterwards they allowed him to be elected consul without opposition; nor, when he became a private citizen, did they ever impeach him for the violence of his conduct. We cannot in our ignorance of the details of these times appreciate fully the wisdom of this conduct; but as violence begets violence, so unquestionably does moderation in political contests lead to moderation in return. The personal ambition of Appius had been gratified even beyond the law, and this his political opponents had endured at the time, nor did they seek to punish it afterwards. Nothing was attempted against him which could either irritate his own passions or invest him in the eyes of the multitude with the character of a martyr in their cause. If he had ever carried his views still higher than to a five years' censorship, if the hope of regal domin-

ion had ever floated before his eyes, the forbearance shown towards him deprived him not only of every pretext for further violence, but, appealing to the nobler part of his nature, restrained him for very shame from endeavoring to wrest more where so much had been already yielded to him. It would not suffer him to assail that constitution which had shown itself towards him at once so confident and so placable.

51. One of the evils most liable to attend on any sort of early proficiency, and which often fatally blights its promise, my father most anxiously guarded against. This was self-conceit. He kept me with extreme vigilance out of the way of hearing myself praised or of being led to make self-flattering comparisons between myself and others. From his own intercourse with me I could have derived but a very humble opinion of myself, and the standard of comparison he always held up to me was not what other people did, but what a man could and ought to do. He completely succeeded in preserving me from the sort of influences he so much dreaded. I was not at all aware that my attainments were anything unusual at my age. If I accidentally had my attention drawn to the fact that some other boy knew less than myself, which happened less often than might be imagined, I concluded not that I knew much, but that he for some reason or other knew little, or that his knowledge was of a different kind from mine. My state of mind was not humility, but neither was it arrogance. I never thought of saying to myself, I am or I can do so and so. I neither estimated myself highly nor lowly; I did not estimate myself at all.

52. What made Wordsworth's poems a medicine for my state of mind was that they expressed not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling and of thought colored by feeling under the excitement of beauty. They seemed to be the very culture of the feelings which I was in quest of. In

them I seemed to draw from a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure which could be shared in by all human beings, which had no connection with struggle or imperfection, but would be made richer by every improvement in the physical or social condition of mankind. From them I seemed to learn what would be the perennial sources of happiness when all the greater evils of life shall have been removed. And I felt myself at once better and happier as I came under their influence. There have certainly been even in our own age greater poets than Wordsworth, but poetry of deeper and loftier feeling could not have done for me at that time what his did. I needed to be made to feel that there was real permanent happiness in tranquil contemplation. Wordsworth taught me this, not only without turning away from, but with a greatly increased interest in, the common feelings and common destiny of human beings.

53. My frankness on all other subjects on which I was interrogated evidently did me far more good than my answers, whatever they might be, did harm. Among the proofs I received of this, one is too remarkable not to be recorded. In the pamphlet, "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," I had said rather bluntly that the working classes, though differing from those of some other countries in being ashamed of lying, are yet generally liars. This passage some opponent got printed in a placard, which was handed to me at a meeting chiefly composed of the working classes, and I was asked whether I had written and published it. I at once answered "I did." Scarcely were these two words out of my mouth when vehement applause resounded through the whole meeting. It was evident that the working people were so accustomed to expect equivocation and evasion from those who sought their suffrages that, when they found instead of that a direct avowal of what was likely to be disagreeable to them, instead of being affronted, they concluded at once that this was a person whom they could trust.

54. As we stand amidst the ruins of town or country-house which recall to us the wealth and culture of Roman Britain, it is hard to believe that a conquest that left them heaps of crumbling stones was other than a curse to the land over which it passed. But if the new England which sprang from the wreck of Britain seemed for the moment a waste from which the arts, the letters, the refinement of the world had fled hopelessly away, it contained within itself germs of a nobler life than that which had been destroyed. The base of Roman society here as everywhere throughout the Roman world was the slave, the peasant who had been crushed by tyranny, political and social, into serfdom. The base of the new English society was the freeman, whom we have seen tilling, judging, or fighting for himself by the northern sea; however roughly he dealt with the material civilization of Britain while the struggle went on, it was impossible that such a man could be a mere destroyer. War, in fact, was no sooner over, than the warrior settled down into the farmer, and the home of the freeman rose beside the heap of goblin-haunted stones that marked the site of the villa he had burned. The settlement of the English in the conquered land was nothing less than an absolute transfer of English society in its completest form to the soil of Britain.

55. But William had no sooner recovered from his sickness than he found himself face to face with an opponent whose meek and loving temper rose into firmness and grandeur when it fronted the tyranny of the king. Much of the struggle between William and the archbishop turned on questions which have little bearing on our history. But the particular question at issue was of less importance than the fact of a contest at all. The boldness of Anselm's attitude not only broke the tradition of ecclesiastical servitude, but infused through the nation at large a new spirit of independence. The real character of the strife appears in the pri-

mate's answer when his remonstrances against the lawless exactions from the church were met by a demand for a present on his own promotion, and his offer of five hundred pounds was contemptuously refused. "Treat me as a free man," Anselm replied, "and I devote myself and all that I have to your service; but if you treat me as a slave, you shall have neither me nor mine." A burst of the Red King's fury drove the archbishop from court, and he finally decided to quit the country; but his example had not been lost, and the close of William's reign found a new spirit of freedom in England with which the greatest of the conqueror's sons was glad to make terms.

56. The Jew had no rights of citizenship in the land. The Jewry in which he lived was exempt from the common law. He was simply the king's chattel, and his life and goods were at the king's mercy; but he was too valuable a possession to be lightly thrown away. If the Jew had no standing-ground in the local court, the king enabled him to sue before a special justiciar; he was protected against the popular hatred in the free exercise of his religion, and allowed to build synagogues, and to manage his own ecclesiastical affairs by means of a chief rabbi. The royal protection was dictated by no spirit of tolerance or mercy. To the kings the Jew was a mere engine of finance. The wealth which he had accumulated was wrung from him whenever the crown had need, and torture and imprisonment were resorted to when milder means failed. It was the gold of the Jew that filled the royal treasury at the outbreak of war or of revolt. It was in the Hebrew coffers that the foreign kings found strength to hold their baronage at bay. That the presence of the Jew was, at least in the earlier years of his settlement, beneficial to the nation at large, there can be little doubt. His arrival was the arrival of a capitalist, and, heavy as was the usury he necessarily exacted in the general insecurity of the times, his loans gave an impulse to industry.

57. Land with the German race seems at a very early time to have become everywhere the accompaniment of full freedom. The freeman was strictly the free holder, and the exercise of his full right as a free member of the community to which he belonged became inseparable from the possession of his "holding" in it. But property had not as yet reached that stage of absolutely personal possession which the social philosophy of a later time falsely regarded as its earliest state. The woodland and pasture-land of an English village were still undivided, and every free villager had the right of turning into it his cattle or swine. The meadow-land lay in like manner open and undivided from hay-harvest to spring. It was only when grass began to grow afresh that the common meadow was fenced off into grass-fields, — one for each household in the village, — and when hay-harvest was over, fence and division were at an end again. The plough-land alone was permanently allotted in equal shares, both of corn-land and fallow-land, to the families of the free-men, though even the plough-land was subject to fresh division as the number of claimants grew greater or less.

58. The clouds which envelop the early history of Greece are lighted up by the brilliant hues of Grecian fable. But the reader must carefully guard against believing in the reality of the personages or of the events commemorated by these beautiful legends. Some of them, it is true, probably sprang out of events which actually occurred, and may, therefore, contain a kernel of historical truth. But we have no means of distinguishing between what is true and what is false, between the historical facts and their subsequent embellishments. Till events are recorded in written documents no materials exist for a trustworthy history, and it was not till the epoch known by the name of the first Olympiad that the Greeks began to employ writing as a means for perpetuating the memory of any historical facts. Before that

period everything is vague and uncertain, and for two centuries afterwards we meet with only a few isolated events, and possess nothing in the form of a continuous history. But even the mythical age must not be passed over entirely. In all cases the traditions of a people are worthy of record, and this is especially true of the Greeks, whose legends moulded their faith and influenced their conduct down to the latest times.

59. The civilization of the Greeks and the development of their language bear all the marks of home growth, and probably were little affected by foreign influence. The traditions, however, of the Greeks would point to a different conclusion. It was a general belief among them that the Pelasgians were reclaimed from barbarism by Oriental strangers, who settled in the country and introduced among the rude inhabitants the first elements of civilization. Many of these traditions, however, are not ancient legends, but owe their origin to the philosophical speculations of a later age, which loved to represent an imaginary progress of society from the time when men fed on acorns and ran wild in the woods to the time when they became united into political communities and owned the supremacy of law and reason. The speculative Greeks who visited Egypt in the sixth and fifth centuries before the Christian era were profoundly impressed with the monuments of the old Egyptian monarchy, which, even in that early age of the world, indicated a gray and hoary antiquity. The Egyptian priests were not slow to avail themselves of the impression made upon their visitors, and told the latter many a wondrous tale to prove that the civilization, the arts, and the religion of the Greeks all came from the land of the Nile. These tales found easy believers; they were carried back to Greece, and repeated with various modifications and embellishments, and thus, no doubt, arose the greater number of the traditions respecting Egyptian colonies in Greece.

60. Among the Greeks, as among every people which has just emerged from barbarism, the family relations were the grand sources of lasting union and devoted attachment. The paternal authority was highly revered, and nothing was so much dreaded as the curse of an offended father. All the members of a family or clan were connected by the closest ties, and were bound to revenge with their united strength an injury offered to any individual of the race. The women were allowed greater liberty than they possessed in republican Greece, and to Penelope, Andromache, and other women of the heroic age there is an interest attaching which we never feel in the women of the historical period. The wife occupied a station of great dignity and influence in the family, but was purchased by her husband from her parents by valuable presents,—a custom which prevailed among the ancient Jews and the barbarous nations of Germany. In the heroic age, as in other early stages of society, we find the stranger treated with generous hospitality. The chief welcomes him to his house, and does not inquire his name nor the object of his journey till he has placed before him his best cheer. If the stranger comes as a suppliant, he has a still greater claim upon his host, although this tie may expose the latter to difficulty and danger, and even bring upon him the hostility of a more powerful neighbor. For Zeus punishes without mercy the man who disregards the prayer of a suppliant.

61. Although the heroic age is strongly marked by martial ferocity and simplicity of habits, it would be an error to regard it as one essentially rude and barbarous. On the contrary, the Greeks in this early period had already made considerable advances in civilization, and had successfully cultivated many of the arts which contribute to the comfort and refinement of life. Instead of living in scattered villages, like the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, they were collected in fortified towns which were surrounded by walls

and adorned with palaces and temples. The houses of the nobles were magnificent and costly, glittering with gold, silver, and bronze; while the nobles themselves were clothed in elegant garments and protected by highly wrought armor. From the Phœnician merchants they obtained the finest products of the Sidonian loom, as well as tin, iron, and electrum. They travelled with rapidity in chariots drawn by high bred steeds, and they navigated the seas with ease with fifty-oared galleys. Property in land was transmitted from father to son, agriculture was extensively practised, and vineyards carefully cultivated. It is true that Homer may have occasionally drawn upon his imagination in his brilliant pictures of the palaces of the chiefs, and of their mode of living; but the main features must have been taken from life, and we possess, even in the present day, memorials of the heroic age which strikingly attest its grandeur.

62. Of the duties of the Amphictyonic Council, nothing will give us a better idea than the oath taken by its members. It ran thus: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water in war or peace. If any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot, hand, and voice, and by every means in our power." We thus see that the main duties of the council were to restrain acts of aggression against its members, and to preserve the rights and dignities of the temple at Delphi. It is true that the Amphictyons sometimes took a larger view of their functions; but these were only employed for political purposes when they could be made subservient to the views of one of the leading Grecian States. They were never considered as a national congress, whose duty it was to protect and to defend the common interests of Greece. If such a

congress had ever existed, and its edicts had commanded the obedience of the Greeks, the history of the nation would have had a different course. The Macedonian kings would probably have remained in their subordinate condition, and united Greece might even have defied the legions of conquering Rome.

63. The assumption of irresponsible power by one man had become abhorrent to the Greek mind. A person thus raising himself above the law was considered to have forfeited all title to the protection of the law. He was regarded as the greatest of criminals, and his assassination was viewed as a righteous and holy act. Hence few despots grew old in their government, still fewer bequeathed their power to their sons; and very rarely did the dynasty continue as long as the third generation. Many of the despots in Greece were put down by the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan government, as we have already seen, was essentially an oligarchy, and the Spartans were always ready to lend their powerful aid to the support or the establishment of the government of the Few. Hence they took an active part in the overthrow of the despots, with the intention of establishing the ancient oligarchy in their place. But this rarely happened, and they thus became unintentional instruments in promoting the principles of the popular party. The rule of the despot had broken down the distinction between the nobles and the general body of freemen, and, upon the removal of the despot, it was found impossible, in most cases, to reinstate the former body of nobles in their ancient privileges. The latter, it is true, attempted to regain them, and were supported in their attempts by Sparta. Hence arose a new struggle. The first contest after the abolition was between oligarchy and the despot, the next which now ensued was between oligarchy and democracy.

64. Civil dissension and a redundant population were the

two chief causes of the origin of most of the Greek colonies. They were usually undertaken with the approbation of the cities from which they issued, and under the management of leaders appointed by them. In most cases the Delphic oracle had previously given its divine sanction to the enterprise, which was also undertaken under the encouragement of the gods of the mother city. But a Greek colony was always considered politically independent of the latter, and emancipated from its control. The only connection between them was one of filial affection and of common religious ties. The colonists worshipped in their new settlement the deities whom they had been accustomed to honor in their native country. And the sacred fire which was constantly kept burning on their public hearth was taken by them from the Prytaneum of the city from which they sprung. They usually cherished a feeling of reverential respect for the mother city, which they displayed by sending deputations to the principal festivals of the latter, and also by bestowing places of honor and other marks of respect upon the ambassadors and other members of the mother city when they visited the colony. In the same spirit they paid divine worship to the founder of the colony after his death, as the representative of the mother city, and when the colony in its turn became a parent, it usually sought a leader from the state from which it had itself sprung.

65. The affection with which her husband cherished her memory was soon attested by a monument the most superb that was ever erected to any sovereign. No scheme had been so much her own, none had been so near her heart, as that of converting the palace at Greenwich into a retreat for seamen. It had occurred to her when she found it difficult to provide good shelter and good attendance for the thousands of brave men who had come back to England wounded after the battle of La Hogue. While she lived, no step was taken towards the accomplishment of her favorite design. But it

should seem that as soon as her husband had lost her, he began to reproach himself for neglecting her wishes. No time was lost. A plan was furnished by Wren, and soon an edifice, surpassing that asylum which the magnificent Lewis had provided for his soldiers, rose on the margin of the Thames. Whoever reads the inscription which runs round the frieze of the hall, will observe that William claims no part of the merit of the design, and that the praise is ascribed to Mary alone. Had the king's life been prolonged till the works were completed, a statue of her who was the real foundress of the institution would have had a conspicuous place in that court, which presents two lofty domes and two graceful colonnades to the multitudes who are perpetually passing up and down the imperial river. But that part of the plan was never carried into effect; and few of those who now gaze upon the noblest of European hospitals are aware that it is a memorial of the virtues of the good queen Mary, of the love and sorrow of William, and of the great victory of La Hogue.

66. At length all the questions of dispute were settled. After much discussion, an article was framed by which Lewis pledged his word of honor that he would not countenance in any manner any attempt to subvert or disturb the existing government of England. William, in return, gave his promise not to countenance any attempt against the government of France. This promise Lewis had not asked, and at first seemed inclined to consider as an affront. His throne, he said, was perfectly secure, his title undisputed. There were in his dominion no non-jurors, no conspirators, and he did not think it consistent with his dignity to enter into a compact which seemed to imply that he was in fear of plots and insurrections such as a dynasty sprung from a revolution might naturally apprehend. On this point, however, he gave way, and it was agreed that the covenants should be strictly reciprocal. William ceased to demand that James should be men-

tioned by name, and Lewis ceased to demand that an amnesty should be granted to James's adherents. It was determined that nothing should be said in the treaty, either about where the banished king of England should reside, or about the jointure of his queen. But William authorized his plenipotentiaries at the congress to declare that Mary of Modena should have whatever, on examination, it should appear that she was by law entitled to have.

67. Somers was too wise to oppose himself directly to the strong current of popular feeling. With rare dexterity he took the tone, not of an advocate, but of a judge. The danger which seemed so terrible to many honest friends of liberty, he did not venture to pronounce altogether visionary. But he reminded his countrymen that a choice between dangers was sometimes all that was left to the wisest of mankind. No law-giver had ever been able to devise a perfect and immortal form of government; perils lay thick on the right and on the left, and to keep far from one evil was to draw near to another. That which, considered merely with reference to the internal polity of England, might be to a certain extent objectionable, might be absolutely essential to her rank among European powers and even to her independence. All that a statesman could do in such a case was to weigh inconveniences against each other, and carefully to observe which way the scale leaned. The evil of having regular soldiers, and the evil of not having them, Somers set forth and compared in a little treatise, which was once widely renowned as the *Balancing Letter*, and which was admitted, even by the malcontents, to be an able and plausible composition. He knew well that mere names exercise a powerful influence on the public mind. He declared, therefore, that he abhorred the thought of a standing army; what he recommended was not a standing army, but a temporary army.

68. It must be evident to every intelligent and dispas-

sionate man that these declaimers contradicted themselves. If an army composed of regular troops was really more efficient than an army composed of husbandmen taken from the plow and burghers taken from the counter, how could the country be safe with no defenders but husbandmen and burghers, when a great prince who was our nearest neighbor, who had a few months before been our enemy, and who might in a few months be our enemy again, kept up not less than an hundred and fifty thousand troops? If, on the other hand, the spirit of the English people was such that they would with little or no training encounter and defeat the most formidable array of veterans from the continent, was it not absurd to apprehend that such a people could be reduced to slavery by a few regiments of their own countrymen? But our ancestors were generally so much blinded by prejudice that this inconsistency passed unnoticed. They were secure where they ought to have been wary, and timorous where they might well have been secure. They were not shocked by hearing the same man maintain in the same breath that if twenty thousand professional soldiers were kept up, the liberty and property of millions of Englishmen would be at the mercy of the Crown, and yet that those millions of Englishmen fighting for liberty and property would speedily annihilate an invading army composed of fifty or sixty thousand of the conquerors of Steinkirk and Landen.

69. The doctrine that the parent State has supreme power over the colonies is not only borne out by authority and precedent, but will appear, when examined, to be in entire accordance with justice and with policy. During the feeble infancy of colonies, independence would be pernicious, or rather fatal, to them. Undoubtedly, as they grow stronger and stronger, it will be wise in the home government to be more and more indulgent. No sensible parent deals with a son of twenty in the same way as with a son of ten. Nor

will any government not infatuated treat such a province as Canada or Victoria in the way in which it might be proper to treat a little band of emigrants who had just begun to build their huts on a barbarous shore, and to whom the protection of the flag of a great nation is indispensably necessary. Nevertheless, there cannot really be more than one supreme power in a society. If, therefore, a time comes at which the mother country finds it expedient altogether to abdicate her paramount authority over a colony, one of two courses ought to be taken. There ought to be complete incorporation, if such incorporation be possible; if not, there ought to be complete separation. Very few propositions in politics can be so perfectly demonstrated as this, that parliamentary government cannot be carried on by two really equal and independent parliaments in one empire.

70. "But that you may feel the greater enthusiasm for protecting the State, be assured of this, — that all who have helped save, aided, or advanced their country, have a particular place appointed in heaven, where they enjoy happiness and life everlasting. For there is nothing which takes place upon the earth more acceptable to the chief god who rules over all the universe than the associations and unions of men allied together by law, which are called States; and the rulers and preservers of these States have their beginning in him and return to him."

Then, though greatly alarmed, not so much by the fear of death as by fear of treachery at the hands of my friends, I yet asked whether he and Paulus, my father, and the others whom we think destroyed, lived. "Yea, verily," said he, "they do live; for they have flown from the bonds of the body as from prison, but that so-called life of yours is death. Look, there is your father Paulus coming towards you." When I saw him, I poured out a flood of tears, but he embraced and kissed me and bade me not to weep.

And when I could keep back my tears and regain the power of speech, I said: "Pray, father, most holy and good, since this is life, as Africanus just tells me, why do I tarry on this earth? Why do I not hasten to come here to you?" "It is not so ordered," said he. "For unless the god, whose temple all this space is which you see, shall free you from that guard duty of the body, there can be no way hither open to you."

71. Now the following speech of Atreus's is exceedingly absurd: "Let him not have a tomb to receive him, a haven for the body, where, when the cord of life has been loosed, the body may have rest from its ills." You see in what error these opinions are involved. Atreus thinks that there is a haven for the body, and that the dead man rests in the tomb. This was chiefly the fault of Pelops, who did not instruct his son nor teach him the proper relations of things.

But why should I notice the opinions of individuals when we may examine the different errors of nations? The Egyptians preserve their dead and keep them in their homes; the Persians even embalm them with wax, that their bodies may last as long a time as possible; the custom of the Magians is not to bury the bodies of their people until they have been first torn by wild beasts. In Hyrcania the common people keep dogs at the general expense, the higher classes do so at their own. We know that that breed of dogs is famous, but the object of the custom is that each man, according to his means, shall provide beasts to mangle his corpse, and this, those people think, is the best burial. Many other instances are gathered by Chrysippus, an enthusiastic investigator of all historical subjects, but some of them are so disgusting that one shudders to put them into words. The whole matter ought to be despised in our own case, but not disregarded in the case of our friends; but how much concession must be made to fashion and to what men will think, the living must arrange, understanding that it is of no concern to the dead.

72. They say that Pythagoras once visited Phlius, and held some learned and exhaustive discussions with Leon, the chief man among the Phliasians, and that Leon, having expressed his admiration of his ability and eloquence, asked him on what art he chiefly relied. But he said that he knew no art, but was a philosopher. Leon, so the story goes, wondered at the name, which was new to him, and asked what philosophers were, and what difference there was between them and other people; and Pythagoras answered that he considered the life of man like the fair which was held at the great festival of the games, and was attended by crowds from all parts of Greece. For as there some aimed at glory and the distinction of the victor's wreath by athletic excellence, and others were attracted by the opportunity for buying and selling and money-getting, while there was a class — and that perhaps the highest toned — who sought neither applause nor gain, but went to look on, and diligently watched what was being done and how; so we too, like men coming from some city to the crowd at the fair, had come into this life from another life and condition, and some were the slaves of glory, others of money, while there were some few, who, counting all else as naught, diligently contemplated the universe. These he called seekers after wisdom, that is, of course, philosophers; and he maintained that as at the fair, the most dignified thing was to look on, getting nothing for one's self, so in life the contemplation and investigation of things far surpassed all other pursuits.

73. I here stop to answer one possible objection. Is it, I may be asked, needful for the student of history or of language to be master of all history and of all language? Must he be equally familiar with the tongue, the literature, the political institutions, the civil and military events of all times and places? Such an amount of knowledge, it may well be argued, can never fall to the lot of man. And some may

go on to infer that any doctrine which may even seem to lead to such a result must be in itself chimerical. Now to be equally familiar with all history and language is, of course, utterly beyond human power. But it is none the less true that the student of history or of language, and he who is a student of either, must be in no small degree a student of the other, must take in all history and all language within his range. The degrees of his knowledge of various languages, of various branches of history, will vary infinitely. Of some branches he must know everything, but of every branch he must know something.

74. The immense relative importance of some of these ancient military events of small dimensions is due to the fact that military strength was not then concentrated in the most highly civilized communities as it is in modern times. In antiquity, there was a real danger that the nascent civilization of higher type might be extinguished by the long established civilization of far lower type, or even by barbarism, through mere disparity of numbers. We do not know how often in pre-historic times some little gleam of civilization may have been put out by an overwhelming wave of barbarism; though, by reason of the great military superiority which even a little civilization gives, such occurrences are likely, on the whole, to have been exceptional. This great superiority is well exemplified in the ease with which the Greeks defeated ten times their own number of Asiatics at Marathon, and afterwards at Cunaxa. Nevertheless, it cannot be questioned that the invasions of B.C. 490 and 480 were fraught with serious danger to Grecian independence, and if Datis and Mardonius had happened to possess the military talent of Cyrus or of Timour, the danger would have been alarming indeed. Now if little Greece had thus been swallowed up by giant Persia, and the nascent political and intellectual freedom extinguished in Athens as it was in the

Ionic cities of Asia Minor, the entire future history of Macedonia, of Rome, and of Europe would have been altered in a way that is not pleasant to contemplate.

75. If there is any period in the history of our race when beauty came down to earth, as it were, and there in close and constant companionship with men lived in all their thoughts and works, then it follows that a study of the records and monuments of that period will bring us under the strongest and most immediate influence of beauty. Few will be found—and I should not despair of their conversion when found—to deny that there was such an unparalleled epoch while the Greeks ran through their short career upon earth. Why then should these pricelessly fresh and vivid impressions, the lessons learned by our race in its youth, not be brought within the horizon of every college-bred man? Should any invasion of facts be suffered to deprive us of our intellectual youth, or to enfeeble and to frustrate the one power most effectual in enabling us to mould all facts to our enlightened will? There is but one possible analogy to the singular position which the children of Hellas occupy in our past, and that is to be found in the unique importance of the children of Israel in every education which is to establish sane and stable religious conviction. The lessons which Jewish thought and Jewish history can and must teach us are taught unceasingly and are taught well. These lessons do not depend for their right understanding upon a detailed study of Hebrew, the less so because the more essential records of Christianity are lodged in Greek writings though their inspiration is Jewish. The insight into beauty, on the other hand, which is given us by Greece is not to be gained at second hand through translations and explanations.

76. Sheridan was amongst those who gazed with unspeakable satisfaction at the earliest struggles of the manacled slave to unbind his fetters, to raise himself from the ground,

and draw in the free breath of heaven. With him were associated men who were deeply imbued with the love of a pure, free, and mild constitution, who saw in the government of France, corruption, imbecility, infidelity, and all those crimes which a long indulgence in despotism engenders and fosters. They were delighted to find a people rousing themselves from their slumber, proclaiming their rights with an irresistible and omnipotent voice, seeking that which justice entitled them to, and determined to obtain it. They could not foresee all that arose out of this patriotic energy; and as events occurred, their minds were reconciled to circumstances which cooler reflection might not have sanctioned. The distrust which those who governed in France brought upon themselves, shook the loyalty of those who would have supported them, and eventually led to their own destruction. It is impossible for those who merely read the page of history, to form any just idea of the impressions produced by these events upon the people of England; the changes were so various, they followed so rapidly one upon the other, that all reasoning was set at defiance. The fears of men were so worked upon, too, that no one became a dispassionate witness of the occurrences.

77. On the twelfth day, as he was lying on the funeral pile, he returned to life, and told them what he had seen in the other world. He said that when he left the body, his soul went on a journey with a great company, and that they came to a mysterious place at which there were two chasms in the earth; they were near together, and over against them were two other chasms in the heaven above. In the intermediate space there were judges seated, who bade the just, after they had judged them, ascend by the heavenly way on the right hand, having the signs of the judgment bound on their foreheads, and in like manner the unjust were commanded by them to descend by the lower way on the left hand: these also had the symbols of their deeds fastened on

their backs. He drew near, and they told him that he was to be the messenger who would carry the report of the other world to men, and they bade him hear and see all that was to be heard and seen in that place. Then he beheld, and saw on one side the souls departing at either chasm of heaven and earth when sentence had been given on them, and at the two other openings, other souls, some ascending out of the earth dusty and worn with travel; some descending out of heaven, clean and bright. And always on their arrival they seemed as if they had come from a long journey, and they went out into the meadow with joy, and encamped as at a festival. And those who knew one another embraced and conversed.

78. The modern and ancient philosophical world are not agreed in their conceptions of truth and falsehood: the one identifies truth almost exclusively with fact, the other with ideals. There is a like difference between ourselves and Plato, which is, however, partly a difference of words. For we too should admit that a child must learn many lessons which he imperfectly understands. He must be taught some things in a figure only, and some perhaps which he can hardly be expected to believe when he grows older; but we should limit the use of fiction to the necessity of the case. Plato would draw the line somewhat differently. According to him, the aim of early education is not truth as a matter of fact, but truth as a matter of principle. The child is to be taught first simple religious truths, and then simple moral truths, and insensibly to learn the lesson of good manners and good taste. He proposes an entire reformation of the old mythology. The lusts and treacheries of the gods are to be banished, the terrors of the world below are to be dispelled, the misbehavior of the Homeric heroes is not to be a model for youth. But there is another strain heard in Homer, which may teach our youth endurance, and something may be learned in medicine from the simple practice of the

Homeric age. The principles on which religion is to be based are two only. First, that God is true ; secondly, that he is good.

79. Let us consider, too, how differently young and old are affected by the words of some classic author such as Homer or Horace. Passages which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully in his own flowing versification, at length come home to him when long years have passed and he has had experience of life, and pierce him as if he had never before known them with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation for thousands of years, with a power over the mind and a charm which the current literature of his own day with all its obvious advantages is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as if a prophet or magician, his single words and phrases, his pathetic half-lines giving utterance as the voice of nature herself to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things which is the experience of her children in every time.

80. In a very different subject-matter, Napoleon supplies us with an instance of a parallel genius in reasoning, by which he was enabled to look at things in his own province, and to interpret them truly, apparently without any ratiocinative media. "By long experience," says Allison, "joined to great natural quickness and precision of eye, he had acquired the power of judging with extraordinary accuracy, both of the amount of the enemy's force opposed to him in the field, and the probable result of the movements, even the most complicated going forward in the opposite armies. . . .

He looked around him for a little while with his telescope, and instantly formed a clear conception of the position, forces, and intention of the whole hostile array. In this way he could with surprising accuracy calculate in a few minutes, according to what he could see of their formation, and the extent of the ground which they occupied, the numerical force of armies of sixty thousand or eighty thousand men. And if their troops were at all scattered, he knew at once how long it would require them to concentrate, and how many hours must elapse before they could make their attack."

81. There is not even ground for apprehension in what those who envy my friend his promotion to the cabinet pretend fills them with alarm, that he is incapable of self-restraint and moderation, that he will use the honors we confer upon him for his own ends. This is not human nature. The man who has once felt that he is regarded by parliament and the people as a beloved and valuable citizen, considers nothing comparable to that distinction. I could wish that this distinction had befallen many I could mention on their first entrance to public life. They would not, through despair of obtaining success by legitimate means, have turned the whole force of their intellect to the pursuit of vulgar applause. My friend has been through life so thoroughly opposed in principle to these fosterers of sedition, that when I hear his promotion opposed, I am constrained to believe that there are some who are filled with envy at his exertions and zeal, and are stung at seeing a life-long anxiety to assist the state recognized by the government and the people at large. It were devoutly to be wished that many whose position requires similar exertions would imitate his laborious life. He is no longer young or in sound health, and yet he never denies himself to any petitioner, or spends upon his domestic affairs or recreation a legitimate portion of his time.

82. The odium of Cicero's death fell chiefly on Anthony,

yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus, which explains the reason of that silence which is observed about him by the writers of that age, and why his name is not so much as mentioned by Horace and Virgil. For although his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for court poets, since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the prince, especially while Anthony lived, among the sycophants of whose court it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent. Nay, Virgil, on an occasion that hardly could have failed of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merits, chose to do an injustice to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to the Greeks, which they themselves would have been forced to yield to Cicero.

83. If they ask what is the use of studying the history of petty states, let us answer that moral and intellectual greatness is not always measured by physical greatness; that the smallness of a state of itself tightens and quickens the power of its citizens, and makes the history of a small commonwealth a more instructive lesson in politics than the history of a huge empire. If we are asked what is the use of studying the events and institutions of times so far removed from our own, let us answer that distance is not to be measured simply by lapse of time, and that those ages which gave birth to literature and art and political freedom are sometimes only by analogy and indirect influence, sometimes by actual cause and effect, not distant, but very near to us indeed. Let us give to the history of Greece and of Rome, in their chosen periods, their due place in the history of mankind; but not more than their due place. Let us look on the ancients, the men of Plutarch, the men of Homer, not as beings of another race, but as men of like passions with ourselves, as elder brethren of our common Aryan household.

84. Marius was wafted into power with the full tide of the Italian confederacy. He was the first to proscribe and to massacre the leaders of the party opposed to him ; but his views were narrow and sordid, and he took no measures to secure the ascendancy of the popular faction which he had led to victory. Satiated with the acquisition of a seventh consulship, he was snatched away by a timely death from the disgrace and ruin with which his friends were speedily overtaken. The return of Sulla, the champion of nobility, with his veteran legions from Asia, surprised them without plans or resources. The younger Marius threw himself into the arms of the Samnites, still the implacable enemies of Rome, and offered to transfer to their country the seat of empire. The views of Sulla, on the other hand, were thoroughly national. The massacres by which he decimated the Italian races, the proscriptions by which he swept off the leaders of the popular party in the city, together with his vigorous exercise of the extraordinary powers which the gratitude of the triumphant nobles conferred upon him in abrogating laws which had fixed for more than a generation the balance of the constitution, all tended to the same end, — the restoration and defence of the Roman oligarchy.

85. The character of the great king of Pontus has come down to us laden with all the crimes his rivals' malevolence could fasten upon it ; and in estimating it we must never forget that the sources from which our historians drew their information were the narratives of unscrupulous foes. We know of no native documents which they could have consulted, and the memoirs of Sulla himself, the personal opponent of Mithridates, were doubtless deemed by the Romans the most authentic records of the contest between them. We have, however, too many proofs of the malignity of their writers to pay any respect to their estimate of their enemies. The abilities which the eastern despot exhibited may justly

raise a prejudice in his favor. And when we consider, in addition, the magnanimity he repeatedly displayed, we shall be the more inclined to look for other explanations of the crimes imputed to him than the natural barbarity to which our authorities complacently refer them. The massacre of the Roman settlers throughout their Asiatic possessions, which followed upon the success of Mithridates, is more likely to have been an act of national vengeance than the execution, as the historians report, of a tyrant's mandate.

86. As the people became gradually aware that the great revolution of the social war had brought with it more good and less evil than had been anticipated, the extension of the rights of the metropolis to the distant provinces lost the character of an inconsistency and anomaly in the constitution. Local prejudices died away in the familiar contemplation of the vastness of the empire and the mutual relationship of its several members. The mind of the nation expanded to the conception of infusing unity of sentiment into a body which was wielded by a single effort and from a common centre. One after another there arose political crises which demanded the combination of all the powers of the state in a single hand. The success of each experiment became an argument for its repetition, till the idea of submission to the permanent rule of one man first ceased to shock and was finally hailed with acclamation. The monarchy was at first veiled under the old republican forms. Gradually the veil was dropped. Lastly, the theory of a republic was dismissed from men's minds and fell into the same oblivion into which its real forces had already sunk.

87. When the mind of a nation is thus excited and intoxicated by its fervid aspirations, it seeks relief from its own want of definite aims in hailing the appearance of a leader of clearer views and more decisive action. It wants a hero to applaud and to follow, and is ready to seize upon the first

who presents himself as an object for its admiration, and to carry him forward on his career in triumph. Marius, Sulla, and Pompeius each in his turn claimed this eager homage of the multitude, but the two former had passed away with their generation, and the last lived to disappoint the hopes of his admirers, for whom he was not capable of extending the circuit of the political horizon. For a moment the multitude was dazzled by the eloquence and activity of Cicero; but neither had he the intellectual gifts which are fitted to lead a people onward. The Romans hailed him as the saviour and father of his country, as another Romulus or Camillus; but this was in a fit of transient enthusiasm for the past when their minds were recurring for the moment to their early founders and preservers. It was still to the future that their eyes were constantly directed, and it was not till the genius of Cæsar burst upon them with all the rapidity and decision of its movements, that they could recognize in any of the aspirants for power the true captain and law-giver and prophet of the age.

88. The king's indignation and vexation were extreme. He was angry with the opposition, with the ministers, with all England. The nation seemed to him to be under a judicial infatuation, blind to dangers which his sagacity perceived to be real, near, and formidable, and morbidly apprehensive of dangers which his conscience told him were no dangers at all. The perverse islanders were willing to trust everything that was most precious to them, their independence, their property, their laws, their religion to the moderation and good faith of France, to the winds and the waves, to the steadiness and expertness of battalions of ploughmen commanded by squires; and yet they were afraid to trust him with the means of protecting them, lest he should use those means for the destruction of the liberties which he had saved from extreme peril, which he had fenced with new securities, which he had

defended with the hazard of his life, and which from the day of his accession he had never once violated. He was attached, and not without reason, to the Blue Dutch Foot Guards. The vote which required him to discard them, merely because they were what he himself was, seemed to him a personal affront.

89. One more word. The fashion of the day, by a not unnatural reaction, seems to be turning against ancient and classical learning altogether. We are asked what is the use of learning languages which are dead. What is the use of studying the records of times which have forever passed away? Men who call themselves statesmen and historians are not ashamed to run up and down the land, spreading abroad wherever such assertions will win them a cheer, the daring falsehood that such studies, and no others, form the sole business of our ancient universities. They ask, in their pitiful shallowness, what is the use of poring over the history of petty states? what is the use of studying battles in which so few men were killed as on the field of Marathon? In this place I need not stop for a moment to answer such transparent fallacies. Still, even such falsehoods and fallacies as these are signs of the times which we cannot afford to neglect. The answer is in our own hands. As long as we treat the language and the history of Greece and Rome as if they were something special and mysterious, something to be set apart from all other studies, something to be approached and handled in some peculiar method of their own, we are playing into the hands of the enemy.

90. When we turn from the legendary to the historic Attila, we see clearly that he was not one of the vulgar herd of barbaric conquerors. Consummate military skill may be traced in his campaigns, and he relied far less upon the brute force of armies for the aggrandizement of his empire, than on the unbounded influence over the affections of friends and the

fears of foes which his genius enabled him to acquire. Austerely sober in his private life, severely just on the judgment-seat, conspicuous among a nation of warriors for hardihood, strength, and skill in every martial exercise, grave and deliberate in counsel, but rapid and remorseless in execution, he gave safety and security to all who were under his dominion, while he waged a warfare of extermination against all who opposed or sought to escape from it. He watched the national passions, the prejudices, the creeds, and the superstitions of the varied nations over which he ruled and of those which he sought to reduce beneath his sway. All these feelings he had the skill to turn to his account. His own warriors believed him to be the inspired favorite of their deities, and followed him with fanatic zeal; his enemies looked on him as the pre-appointed minister of heaven's wrath against themselves, and though they believed not in his creed, their own made them tremble before him.

91. Among these, and dominant over them, roved or dwelt the German victors, some retaining nearly all the rude independence of their primitive national character, others softened and disciplined by the aspect and contact of the manners and institutions of civilized life. For it is to be borne in mind that the Roman empire in the west was not crushed by any sudden avalanche of barbaric invasion. The German conquerors came across the line, not in enormous hosts, but in bands of a few thousand warriors at a time. The conquest of a province was the result of an infinite series of partial local invasions carried on by little armies of this description. The victorious warriors either retired with their booty or fixed themselves in the invaded district, taking care to keep sufficiently concentrated for military purposes, and ever ready for some fresh foray either against a rival Teutonic band or some hitherto unassailed city of the provincials. Gradually, however, the conquerors acquired a desire for permanent landed

possessions. They lost somewhat the restless thirst for novelty and adventure which may have at first made them throng beneath the banner of the boldest captains of their tribe, and leave their native forests for a roving military life on the left bank of the Rhine. They were converted to the Christian faith, and gave up with their old creed much of the coarse ferocity which must have been fostered in the spirits of the ancient warriors of the north by their mythology.

92. Of the same band, yet rather to be ranked first than third, was Marcus Valerius Corvus, to whom, no less than to Decius, Solon might have allowed the name of happy. His youth had caught the last rays of the romantic glory of earlier times, and his single combat with the giant Gaul, and the wonderful aid which the gods had then vouchsafed him, was sung in the same strains as the valiant acts of the heroes of old, of Camillus, or Cincinnatus, or Cornelius Cossus. His manhood was no less rich in glory of another sort, which, if less brilliant, was more real. Elected consul for the first time at three and twenty, five years afterwards, in his third consulship, he won the famous battle of Mt. Gaurus against the Samnites, and gave, in the victorious issue of the first encounter, a happy omen of the final result of the long contest between the two nations. He was elected consul three times afterwards, and twice dictator; and in his political course, true to the character of his family, he finally relieved the long distress of the poorer commons and appeased the most dangerous commotion which had ever yet threatened Rome, and he re-enacted the famous Valerian law in his fifth consulship, that great law of appeal from the sentence of the magistrate, which the Romans regarded as the main bulwark of their freedom. In his sixth consulship he was nearly seventy years old, but he lived thirty years longer, and died at the full age of a hundred years, after having witnessed the triumphant end of the long contest with the Samnites, which

three generations earlier had been under his own auspices so successfully begun.

93. If the characters of men be estimated according to the steadiness with which they have followed the true principle of action, we cannot assign a high place to Hannibal. But if patriotism were indeed the greatest of virtues, and a resolute devotion to the interests of his country were all the duty that a public man could be expected to fulfil, he would then deserve the most lavish praise. His whole conduct displays the loftiest genius and the boldest spirit of enterprise happily subdued and directed by a cool judgment to the furtherance of the honor and interests of his country; and his sacrifice of selfish pride and passion when, after the battle of Zama, he urged the acceptance of peace, and lived to support the disgrace of Carthage with the patient hope of one day repairing it, affords a strong contrast to the cowardly despair with which some of the best of the Romans deprived their country of their service by suicide. Of the extent of his abilities, the history of his life is the best evidence. As a general, his conduct remains uncharged with a single error. His knowledge of human nature and his ascendancy over men's minds are shown by the uninterrupted authority which he exercised alike in his prosperity and his adversity over an army composed of so many various and discordant materials, and which had no other bond than the personal character of the leader. As a statesman he was at once manly, disinterested, and sensible; a real reformer of abuses, both in his domestic policy and in his measures with respect to foreign enemies, keeping the just limit between weakness and blind obstinacy.

94. Themistocles is one of those characters which exhibit at once all the greatness and all the meanness of human nature. Acuteness in foreseeing, readiness and wisdom in contriving, combined with vigor and decision in acting, were the characteristics of this great statesman, and by these

qualities he not only rescued his country from imminent danger of the Persian yoke, but enabled her to become one of the leading states of Greece. Yet his lofty genius did not secure him from the seductions of avarice and pride which led him to sacrifice both his honor and his country for the tinsel of Eastern pomp. But the riches and luxury which surrounded him served only to heighten his infamy, and were dearly bought with the hatred of his countrymen, the reputation of a traitor, and the death of an exile. Aristides died about four years after the banishment of Themistocles. The common accounts of his poverty are probably exaggerated, and seem to have been founded upon the circumstances of a public funeral and of handsome donations made to his three children by the state. But in ancient times these were no unusual marks of respect and gratitude toward merit and virtue; and, as he was archon eponymus at a time when only the first class of the Solonian census was admissible to this office, he must have enjoyed a certain amount of property. But whatever his property may have been, it is at least certain that he did not acquire or increase it by unlawful means. And not even calumny has ventured to assail his well-earned title of the Just.

95. The origin of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* cannot be understood without a short account of the rise of poetry in Greece. Among the Greeks, as among all other nations, poetry was cultivated before prose. The first poetical compositions appear to have been hymns addressed to the gods, or simple ballads recounting the adventures and exploits of some favorite hero. We have already seen that the Greeks of the heroic age were passionately fond of poetry, and that the entertainments of the nobles were enlivened by the songs of the bard. Originally these songs seem to have been short, unconnected lays. They may be regarded as epic poems in the more indefinite sense of the term, since they perpetuated

and adorned the memory of great men or great deeds. The next important step in the progress of popular poetry was to combine these separate epical songs into one comprehensive whole. Such a poem may be called an *Epopee*, and presents a much more advanced state of the art. It requires genius of a far higher order, a power of combination and construction not needed in poems of the former class. Short epical poems appear to have existed before the time of Homer, as we may infer from the *Lay of the Trojan Horse*, sung by the bard Demodocus in the *Odyssey*. But the construction of the *Epopee* or the epic poem in the nobler sense is probably to be attributed to the genius of Homer.

96. Human life and conduct are affected by ideals in the same way that they are affected by the examples of great men. Neither the one nor the other are immediately applicable to practice, but there is a virtue flowing from them which tends to raise individuals above the common routine of society or trade, and to elevate states above the mere interests of commerce or the necessities of self-defence. Like the ideals of art, they are partly framed by the omission of particulars; they require to be viewed at a certain distance and are apt to fade away if we approach them. They gain an imaginary distinctness when embodied in a state or an individual, but still remain the visions of "a world unrealized." Most men live in a corner and see but a little way beyond their own home or place of occupation; they "do not lift up their eyes to the hills"; they are not awake when the dawn appears. But in Plato, as from some "tower of speculation," we look into the distance and behold the future of the world and of philosophy. The ideal of the state and of the life of the philosopher, the ideal of an education continuing through life and extending equally to both sexes, the ideal of the unity and correlation of knowledge, the faith in good and immortality, are the vacant forms of light on which Plato is seeking to fix the eye of mankind.

97. From early youth Cæsar was a statesman in the deepest sense of the word, and his goal was the highest which man may set before himself, namely, the political, military, intellectual, and moral regeneration of his deep-sunken country, and of its closely-related sister nation, Greece, which was still deeper sunken in general degradation. The hard school of thirty years' experience changed his views about the means by which his goal was to be reached, — the goal remained the same in his times of hopeless humiliation as of unbounded power, in the times when as demagogue and conspirator he stole towards it on dark paths, as when as joint possessor of the supreme power, and afterwards as monarch, he worked upon his task in full sunshine before the eyes of the world. All of the measures not of purely occasional character, which took their rise from him at the most different times, have their rational place in the great edifice of his state. Of isolated achievements of Cæsar's, therefore, we may not properly speak; he achieved nothing isolated. Rightly is he celebrated as orator for his manly oratory, which put all legal art to the blush, like the clear flame which at once illuminates and warms; rightly is he admired as author for the inimitable simplicity of his style, and his unique purity and beauty of language; rightly has he been, by the great military masters of all times, praised as general, for, more than all others, untrammelled by routine and tradition, he had the skill ever to find that method of warfare through which, in the given case, the enemy was conquered; and which, therefore, in the given case, was the right one.

98. It is true, all goes by approximation in this world; with any not insupportable approximation we must be patient. There is a noble conservatism as well as an ignoble. Would to heaven, for the sake of conservatism itself, the noble alone were left, and the ignoble by some kind, severe

hand were ruthlessly lopped away, forbidden evermore to show itself! For it is the right and noble alone that will have victory in this struggle; the rest is wholly an obstruction, a postponement and fearful imperilment of the victory. Towards an eternal centre of right and nobleness, and of that only, is all this confusion tending. We already know whither it is all tending, — what will have victory, what will have none. The heaviest will reach the centre. The heaviest, sinking through complex, fluctuating media and vortices, has its deflections, its obstructions, nay, at times, its resiliences, its reboundings; whereupon some blockhead shall be heard jubilating, “See, your heaviest ascends!” But at all moments it is moving centreward, fast as is convenient for it; sinking, sinking; and by laws older than the world, old as the Maker’s first plan of the world, it has to arrive there.

99. Now the feature which distinguishes man from other animals is that he is able to observe and discover these laws which are of such mighty moment to him, and direct his conduct in conformity with them. The more subtle may be revealed only by complicated experience. The plainer and the more obvious among those especially which are called moral have been apprehended among the higher races easily and readily. I shall not ask how the knowledge of them has been obtained, whether by external revelation or by natural insight, or by some other influence working through human faculties. The fact is all that we are concerned with, that from the earliest times of which we have historical knowledge, there have always been men who have recognized the distinction between the nobler and the baser parts of their being. They have perceived that if they would be men and not beasts, they must control their animal passions, prefer truth to falsehood, courage to cowardice, justice to violence, and compassion to cruelty. These are the elementary principles of morality on the recognition of which the welfare

and improvement of mankind depend ; and human history has been little more than a record of the struggle which began at the beginning, and will continue to the end, between the few who have had the ability to see into the truth, and loyalty to obey it, and the multitude who, by evasion or rebellion, have hoped to thrive in spite of it.

100. If we would know what a university is, considered in its most elementary idea, we must betake ourselves to the first and most celebrated home of European civilization, to the bright and beautiful Athens, — Athens whose schools drew to her bosom, and then sent back to the business of life, the youth of the western world for a long thousand years. Seated on the verge of the continent, the city seemed hardly suited for the duties of a central metropolis of knowledge ; yet what it lost in convenience of approach it gained in its neighborhood to the traditions of the mysterious East, and in the loveliness of the region in which it lay. Hither then as to a sort of ideal land where all the archetypes of the great and the fair were found in substantial being, and all departments of truth explored, and all diversities of intellectual power exhibited ; where taste and philosophy were majestically enthroned as in a royal court ; where there was no sovereignty but that of the mind, and no nobility but that of genius ; where professors were rulers, and princes gave homage, — hither flocked continually from the very corners of the *orbis terrarum* the many-tongued generation just rising or just risen into manhood, in order to gain wisdom.

Press of
Berwick & Smith,
Boston.

